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THE CHILD IN INDIA

A Symposium
Commemorating the Coming of Age
of The Society for the Protection of Children
in Western India

EDITED BY
CLIFFORD MANSHARDT

WITH AN INTRODUCTION
By
HIS EXCELLENCY
THE RIGHT HON. LORD BRABOURNE, G. C. I. E., M. C.,
Ex-Governor of Bombay

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INTRODUCTION

By HIS EXCELLENCY

THE RIGHT HON. LORD BRABOURNE, G. C. I. E., M. C.,

Governor of Bombay.

Of all kinds of social service there is none more important than the protection of children and none more worthy to be performed: important because the neglected child, as he grows up, becomes increasingly unprofitable to society; worthy to be performed because, while not everyone is willing to admit that the adult offender is in every case more to be pitied than blamed, yet none will deny that the child who offends against society is the victim and society itself the true offender.

A neglected child is a bad bargain, as any reasonable person can see; but how bad a bargain can only be truly computed by taking into account not only the immediate unprofitableness of a potential or actual juvenile offender, but also the subsequent loss of a sound and useful citizen. The immediate loss to society is perhaps slight, but the subsequent loss is grave indeed. In this respect the work of protection of children has a peculiarly high value, in that the chances of reclaiming a neglected child are comparatively good, but when that neglected child has become an adult criminal the process of reform is greatly prolonged and the chance of ultimate success more remote.

From the merely mercenary point of view, therefore, the protection of children is a worthy work, and it is in this aspect that the State, being by nature a soulless institution, must necessarily be most interested. The other aspect, the humanitarian, probably appeals more to the many persons who voluntarily engage themselves in this work, the persons who see first of all the pitifulness and the injustice of the situation of neglected children, the persons who realise most keenly that in the very nature of things a neglected child, having had no opportunity to learn to distinguish between

good and evil, cannot be condemned, who realise that it is up to them as members of society to right, so far as they can, the wrong which society has done.

I have distinguished these two aspects of the work, only, as it were, to join them again, in emphasising that the best work is done by those who are moved to action by both. The Society for the Protection of Children in Western India has kept both objects equally clearly in view, to profit society by preventing the wastage of its children, and to cleanse society by righting a grievous wrong. As the Knight of old in the days of chivalry considered no reward for his success in a difficult enterprise more meet than to be entrusted with one even more difficult, so I feel sure, in congratulating the Society for the Protection of Children in Western India on its coming of age, that it will desire no better wish from me than that its successful labours in the past may be but the prelude to even more laborious and even more successful days in the future.

BRABOURNE

Governor of Bombay,
14th August 1937.

PREFACE

The Twentieth Century has been hailed as the Century of the Discovery of the Child. Certainly there has in recent years been a new appreciation of the child and an earnest attempt to understand his nature and his needs. It is eminently fitting that one item in the programme for the celebration of the Coming of Age of the Society for the Protection of Children in Western India should be a volume devoted to the child and his welfare.

On behalf of the Society, the editor desires to thank His Excellency the Right Hon. Lord Brabourne, G. C. I. E., M. C., Governor of Bombay, for his kindness in contributing an introduction to this volume, and the able staff of contributors who have given so generously of their time in preparing the materials presented in the various chapters. If the study contributes in any way to a new appreciation of the Indian child and his problems and opens new fields of thought for parents and educators, it will have served its purpose.

**The Sir Dorabji Tata
Graduate School of Social Work
Bombay, 15 August, 1937.**

CLIFFORD MANSHARDT

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CHAPTER I

TWENTY YEARS OF THE SOCIETY FOR THE PROTECTION OF CHILDREN IN WESTERN INDIA

BY

R. P. MASANI, M. A., J. P.

(*One of the Founders of the Society.*)

In response to the invitation of the editor of this compilation, I take my pen in hand with feelings of jubilation never before evoked by any joyous incident in my life. The coming of age of the Society for the Protection of Children in Western India is, naturally, an occasion for pride and self-gratulation for its members, and much more for its founders. To me it is, besides, a matter of supreme gratification and thankfulness that the pen which made a feeble attempt, twenty-two years ago, to move the Government and the people of Bombay out of the slough of apathy concerning the destitute, deserted, neglected, oppressed and exploited children of the City and the Presidency, is now requisitioned to relate how such apathy has been atoned for during the last two decades.

Harrowing Conditions

Incredible though it sounds, it is no exaggeration to say that until the inauguration of the Society, on 16th January 1917, the citizens of Bombay, famous for their public spirit and philanthropic institutions, cared more for their kittens than for their urchins. For the rescue of neglected, abandoned, or ill-treated animals there was in this hospitable City the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, armed with legal authority to institute proceedings against their callous or cruel owners.

There was, however, not a single organisation whose duty it was to extend a helping hand to forsaken, maltreated, or exploited children. Nor was there any piece of social legislation under which the offenders could be brought to book. There were, no doubt, the Penal Code and the Police Act, under which cases of exposure and abandonment or sale of children, could be dealt with, but for other offences against children such as neglect, cruelty or exploitation there was no legal remedy.

Charitable people gave away thousands for the amelioration of the condition of their fellow-citizens, but the care and attention devoted to the needs of children was in inverse proportion to their importance as the finest asset of the country. There was accommodation in several homes and orphanages for some of the homeless and helpless juvenile population of the Presidency. There were also a few institutions for the blind and the deaf mute; but a large number of children stood outside, or were kept outside, because, forsooth, it paid their parents, or so-called guardians, or expert operators in the slave markets of Bombay, to whom they were hired out, to exploit them. Nothing sadder in our social system could be thought of than such nefarious traffic in innocent children.

In addition to the unfortunate children mentioned above, there were hundreds of tiny toilers slaving in the factories and workshops of Bombay and other industrial centres for twelve hours a day, or even longer. The legislature had, doubtless, prescribed certain statutory restrictions on child labour, but the strong arm of the law had not yet reached the juvenile workers. Worse still, neither the innocent little slave nor the adult and astute slave-driver appeared to be conscious of the heart-rending iniquity, cruelty and barbarity of the system under which they were working.

Then there were numerous street arabs, ill-starred victims of parental penury or folly, ancestral disease or degradation, social injustice or indifference, requiring institutional care. The woes of these children also cried

out to heaven for redress, but the citizens as a class did not appear to have had the faintest idea that it was a sacred civic obligation, not merely a matter of personal inclination or clemency, that they should protect decrepit, destitute, deserted, feeble-minded, ill-treated and exploited children—including the naughty little boys and girls unconsciously qualifying themselves in the streets or deliberately trained by their exploiters for a career of crime and degradation. There was, forsooth a reformatory to which delinquent children were committed after they had been branded as offenders, but the problem of reclaiming them, before the general environment sealed their fate, had as yet received no attention.

Bombay the Backward

During the early years of this century my mind was considerably agitated over the pitiable plight of such children. As a civic officer I felt particularly ashamed that one of the primary duties of citizenship should have been thus ignored. Luckily, I soon got an opportunity to unburden my mind on the subject. In his annual report of the Bombay Jail Department for the year 1914, the then Inspector-General of Prisons, Col. J. Jackson, deplored the indifference of the public in regard to the welfare of juvenile offenders, and in a leading article on the subject the *Times of India* pointed out how much remained to be done in dealing with the young offender. While reinforcing that appeal, I raised the wider issue of child protection generally. The burden of my plea may be gathered from the following extracts from my letter, which appeared in the *Times of India* of 13th April 1915, under the caption, *Child Protection : Bombay the Backward*.

“A reformatory, though intended to be a preventive measure, is after all a curative one and deals simply with the result of parental neglect or incompetence. Why not deal with the cause, as best we can, and reduce the number of children passing through the court to the reformatory? Why not extend a helping hand to children before they swell the forces of myriads of street arabs who, in the words of Dickens, ‘awfully reverse our Savi-

our's words and are not of the Kingdom of Heaven but of the Kingdom of Hell?' Even the most casual observer must have witnessed the ghastly spectacle of juvenile beggars cold-bloodedly deprived of eye-sight, or maimed, crippled, or otherwise disabled for work with the object of qualifying them for a successful career of pauperism; also of able bodied urchins escorting decrepit beggars on public thoroughfares, little ones who remain up to the age of adolescence mere crutches for aged paupers and thereafter become professional beggars or confirmed criminals. Cannot anything be done to recover these children? Cannot philanthropic societies, local bodies or Government take charge of them, teach them some craft and make them useful, self-supporting citizens? Thanks to the efforts of the Salvation Army and the missionaries, a good deal is doubtless done in this direction, but what is needed is legislation to secure for every child the protection it needs and systematic measures for dealing, comprehensively, with all cases of parental neglect. Other civilized countries have already grappled with the question by an elaborate system of poor laws, juvenile courts, courts of domestic relations, reformatories and varied institutions for the care of boys and girls. Compared with what is being done elsewhere, how culpable seems our neglect of the children of our city?

"The other day there appeared in your columns an account of two Waghri girls charged with stealing a pair of shoes. One of these beggar girls was aged ten, the other six. It was reported that the girls were seen with two Waghri women shortly before the theft and that there was little doubt that they were put up by those women to commit the offence. Both the girls pleaded guilty to the charge. The younger one said that she knew it was wrong to steal, but that she had to do it to satisfy her hunger. Asked what she would have done with the shoes, she said she hoped to realize a pice in return and with it to buy some parched grain. She promised not to commit the offence again and was warned and discharged. The other girl had previous convictions against her, but as she could not be sent to a jail or fined and as there was no reformatory for girls where she could be sent, she was ordered to be detained in Court during the day. Thus were those two unfortunates hurled back to the same environment and associates to complete their down-hill course and to drag with them other innocent children with whom they might come in contact. No more pathetic illustration could be given of the manner in which incalculable damage is thus being done to the children of the State. We do not know whether the learned Magistrate who tried the case has invited the attention of Government to the plight of such delinquent children who incessantly knock at our doors for institutional care but fail to get any. If, not, we hope he will be good enough to put in a powerful appeal in their behalf."

Submitting that juvenile criminality could not be dealt with as an isolated phenomenon but must be considered in its relation to the intellectual, moral and economic neglect of the submerged classes from which it sprang,

I concluded my letter with the query : "How long will Bombay, the first and foremost, Bombay the beautiful, remain Bombay the Backward in this respect?"

" Not a day longer ! "

Such, I feel proud to say, while reviewing the situation to-day, was the City's emphatic reply to that question. It did not take more than a year to set up an organization to remove that blotch on the fair name of the City and now, true to her motto, Bombay is the first and foremost in "mothering" her children. This does not mean that all the needs of the juvenile population have been recognized or satisfied. A good deal yet remains to be realised and accomplished. Nor should this reference to the humble part I played in awakening the public conscience to those needs be taken to imply that what was accomplished, was the result of my endeavours. The rapid improvement in the situation during the last two decades is due to the concerted efforts of a large number of public-spirited workers in the cause, particularly to the efforts of a high-minded Englishman who came forward to take the initiative in this matter.

Among the earliest to support my appeal to the public were the late Miss Anna Millard of the American Mission School for the Blind and Lt. Col. Lloyd Jones, Chairman of the Committee of Management of the David Sassoon Industrial and Reformatory Institution. Some of the newspapers also supported the appeal. Heartened by such a response, I gave a lecture on "Child Protection" under the auspices of the Social Service League. Stressing the need for an organisation for the protection of children, I called attention to the fact that a Society had been actually formed before, but that for various reasons it had languished soon after its birth and that very few had heard either of its existence or of its untimely death. Dr. Harold Mann, who presided at the lecture, gave his own experience of child protection work in Poona, and observed that while there were orphanages in the Presidency for boys of different communities, there was no

organization to look after and take charge of the boys who needed institutional care the most. Once more, the press very warmly endorsed my plea for co-ordinating the work of the institutions then in existence and for establishing a central organization for dealing with the problem of child protection. In the *Social Service Quarterly* of April, 1916 I reverted to the charge and pleaded that the City should not be satisfied with merely a Society for the Protection of Children but that it should ask also for a special court for juveniles and a separate reformatory for girls. But who was there to take the initiative?

A British Benefactor of Indian Children

One morning, a member of the Municipal Corporation of Bombay, Mr. J. S. Wardlaw Milne, now Sir John Wardlaw Milne, M. P., then a well-known figure in the civic and industrial life of the City, walked into my office.

"You have been repeatedly harping on the need for an organization for the protection of children," he observed. "I shouldn't waste more time on propaganda. Let us start work. If you find workers, I will find the money."

Cheering, soul-stirring words these! While no Indian citizen had evinced any active interest in the problem, here was an Englishman, a member of the fraternity often slightly spoken of in the Indian press as "birds of passage", imbued with a high sense of civic duty and deeply concerned in the welfare of Indian children! I was overwhelmed with joy; instantly we put our heads together with a view to evolving a scheme for commencing operations without delay.

It was Sir John's suggestion that as a tentative measure a Children's Refuge might be provided in a central part of the City of Bombay, not a permanent home but a temporary one, to offer immediate shelter to destitute children picked up from the streets pending their admission to suitable existing homes and orphanages. It was to be a clearing-house, so to say, for those institutions. The main object aimed at was to collect facts and figures

with which we could, with confidence, appeal to the public for support to establish, or rather re-establish, a Society for the Protection of Children to provide for the juvenile population for whom the existing institutions could not cater.

An Experimental Refuge

We soon set up a Committee consisting of Sir John Wardlaw Milne, Mr. Sorab P. N. Wadia, the late Dr. S. W. Mahatre, Mr. and Mrs. Baban Gokhale, Mr. A. B. Chothia and myself. Mr. Chothia officiated as Secretary to the Committee and he and Mr. S. P. Wadia devoted a good deal of time and attention to the day-to-day work of the Refuge, which was opened in a house at Grant Road. The Committee also opened a cr che at Tardeo. With the help of two agents employed by us and with the co-operation of the Police we were able to reclaim from the streets 83 children by the end of December 1916. Several of these children were restored to their parents or guardians; some were adopted by citizens whom our Committee could trust; some ran away, and the rest were placed in orphanages in Bombay, Surat, Nadiad, Ahmedabad, Poona and other parts of the Presidency.

The following typical cases selected from those dealt with during the experimental period will give some idea of the exploitation of child life to which the Bombay public appeared to have been reconciled in those days.

A Little Blind Beggar Girl

A Hindu girl, only three years old, was made to squat every evening on a foot-path at the corner of Grant Road, absolutely uncovered. Incessantly beating her breast and crying piteously for alms, she earned more than a rupee every evening for the vampire who exploited her. When she was being taken to the nearest Police station by our agent, a Muhammadan rushed up and claimed her as his own child and asked our agent, in reply to his remonstrations, to mind his own business. Not being armed with

legal powers all that we could do was to bring the case to the notice of the police. Such action, however, meant nothing to the class of bloodsuckers who lived on the earnings of the little ones. If the police were on their trail in Grant Road, they would migrate to Parel Road!

Brutal Exploitation

Another girl, only six years old and totally blind, was found begging in the streets. She told our agent that she was an orphan and was brought to Bombay from Kathiawar by some persons who used to beat her mercilessly if the amount she collected by begging did not come up to the expectation of her exploiters. She consented to go to the American Mission School for the Blind, but as soon as she was placed there, some so-called relatives turned up and claimed her. No amount of pleading and persuasion on our part was of any avail. Nor could the police authorities prevail upon them to allow the child to remain in the school where she felt so happy.

Inhuman Exposure

A third girl, also blind, aged ten, was made to beg for two years, on the Mazagaon bridge from early morning till late in the evening with a piece of tarpaulin as the only protection for her body against the sun and rain. She was an orphan from Bhavnagar, pounced upon by a couple of Waghريس. They administered opium to her every morning with a view to fortifying her for the day's ordeal. As none of her relations could be traced at Bhavnagar, she was placed in the School for the Blind whence, after nearly a year, her mother took her to Ahmedabad.

How Harpies Feed on Urchins

A Muhammadan lad, also blind, seven years old, was prevailed upon by another elderly boy to run away from Jubbulpore to Bombay. Incidentally, it may be mentioned that such run-away lads swelled the number of ticketless travellers on our Indian railways. If a ticket-examiner detected and spanked them and turned them out from

the railway compartment, they would walk to the nearest station and thence resume their journey, regardless of the prospects of another encounter with a ticket inspector ! That little visitor from Jubbulpore was also pounced upon by a Waghri woman. She made him beg in the streets throughout the day ; the average daily earning was two rupees, but he did not get even a pie out of it ! Our agent took the boy to the Refuge, followed by the Waghri woman. We repudiated her claims and managed to keep the lad in our custody pending enquiries at Jubbulpore regarding his parents. He was subsequently sent to the Victoria School for the Blind, but confirmed truant that he was, he absconded from the School within a fortnight.

A Gold Mine for Waghris

For the Waghri fraternity the waifs and strays of the Presidency constituted a veritable gold mine. Numerous children fell into their clutches and were callously exploited by them, unmolested by any one ! When, however, the police authorities came to be informed of our organization for the rescue of such children, they passed on several such victims to the Refuge. One of them was a deaf and dumb cripple. Two Waghris, from whose hands the child had been snatched by the police, complained that they had been deprived of a large fortune ! The greater the physical or mental deformity of a child, the greater was its value to those vampires.

Nowhere to Go!

One of the most pitiable cases that came to our notice was that of a lad who came to the Refuge of his own accord—a physical wreck. He had been taken as a pauper to the Sir J. J. Hospital for treatment and was detained there for ten days. After that period he was discharged. He told the hospital authorities that he was homeless and friendless and did not know where to go, but the authorities, according to his own statement, pleaded their inability to do anything for him and turned him loose

into the streets. Luckily, some one guided him to the Refuge.

A Twice Blessed Mission

The question of finding accommodation for the unfortunate children was not a difficult matter. Indeed, one of the interesting discoveries made by us during that experimental stage of child rescue work was that while numerous children had no roof over their heads and were crying for institutional care, there were in the Presidency several sparsely-populated *Anath-Ashramas* and orphanages starving, as it were, for inmates. A connecting link between the two was badly needed. Our Refuge constituted that link. It was, indeed, a twice blessed mission. On the one hand, our Committee had reason to feel very grateful to those institutions for the favour of sheltering and feeding the children reclaimed by us from the streets ; on the other hand, they regarded it as a great favour that the Committee was serving as a feeder to their institutions.

Despite all the available accommodation, however, the need for additional homes for a very large number of children who remained to be rescued— particularly for those children who could not be dealt with in existing institutions owing to caste difficulties, physical or mental infirmities and other causes, was vividly brought home to us. The problem of girls removed from houses of ill fame or other objectionable surroundings, where they were exposed to the danger of being drawn down into the vortex of immoral life, presented the greatest difficulty. There was no provision, whatsoever, for such unfortunate girls.

Thanks to the financial assistance rendered by Sir John Wardlaw Milne and the honorary services of a devoted band of social workers, our Refuge had done what little it could to find shelter for a few of such homeless children, but there seemed to be no limit to the good which might be done with a wider organization and a larger income.

A Resurrection

It was thereupon resolved that the work should be put on a firm and permanent basis and supported by public funds. With that end in view a meeting of citizens interested in the problem was held on 16th January 1917 at the Municipal Office. At that meeting it was resolved to start a Society for the Protection of Children in Western India with its headquarters in Bombay. In moving the resolution for the formation of the Society the late Sir Narayanrao Chandavarkar gave a brief account of a Society which had been started in Bombay in the year 1906 with the same name and almost the same objects but which had suspended its activities in a short time "owing to the members getting entangled with various things" and "the want of proper legislation to enable them to carry on their work efficiently."

The objects of the new Society were defined as under :

- (a) To prevent the public and private wrongs of children and the corruption of their morals ;
- (b) to take action for the enforcement of the laws for their protection, and, if necessary, to suggest new laws or amendments of the existing laws ;
- (c) to provide and maintain an organisation for these objects ; and
- (d) to do all other lawful things incidental or conducive to the attainment of the foregoing objects.

Those who had already signified their intention to become members of the Society and those who were present at the meeting and desired to join it were enrolled as members. His Excellency Lord Willingdon, Governor of Bombay, and Lady Willingdon were invited to accept the office of Patrons of the Society, and an Executive Committee consisting of the following office-bearers and members was appointed :

President

The Hon'ble Mr. G. Carmichael, C. I. E., I. C. S.

Vice-Presidents

Mr. (now Sir John) S. Wardlaw Milne
Mr. Narottam Morarji Gokuldas

Honorary Secretaries

Mr. Mahomedbhoy Currimbhoy (later Sir Currimbhoy
Ebrahim, Bart.)
Mr. (now Sir Narayan) V. Mandlik, B. A., LL. B.
Mr. R. P. Masani, M. A.
Mr. Melville Leslie.

Honorary Treasurer

Mr. W. A. Haig-Brown

Members

Sir Narayanrao G. Chandavarkar, Kt.
The Hon'ble Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola, Kt., C. I. E.
The Hon'ble Sir Dinsha E. Wacha, Kt.
Mr. Hormasji Ardeshir Wadia, Bar-at-law
Dr. J. A. Turner, C. I. E.
Mr. F. A. M. H. Vincent, M. V. O.
Sir Temulji B. Nariman, Kt.
The Hon'ble Mr. Justice N. C. Macleod
Mr. S. R. Bomanji
Mr. (now Sir Byramjee) R. B. Jeejeebhoy
Rao Saheb Manajee 'Rajoojee
Dr. D. A. D'Monte

As the Society embarked on its rescue work, cases of all sorts of outrages on child life came pouring in from all parts of the country, and even from Burma and Ceylon, illustrating the part played by poverty and unemployment, ignorance and superstition, greed of parents and guardians, and by tyranny of step-mothers and mothers-in-law, in the desertion of children by their parents or guardians, or in the abandonment of their homes by the children themselves, or in their cold-blooded sales to harpies for a paltry price. A few typical cases may be cited to show how heartlessly children were

bought and sold, waylaid and decoyed, enslaved and exploited ; how indifferent the public was ; how helpless or inactive the police authorities were, during those days, and what an improvement has set in since the inauguration of the society, the passing of the Children's Act and the subsequent institution of the Children's Aid Society to undertake the special work entailed by the Act.

An Old Woman's Bargains

Case No. 201.

A Hindu lad, age 11, the victim of a father's destitution, was made over to an old woman for a sum of Rs 16/. The boy's daily duty was to lead along the streets of Bombay a blind boy, another bargain in human merchandise struck by the old woman. On the earnings of these two little beggars the old woman lived a comfortable life. One evening our agent brought the two boys to the Society's Refuge. We traced Jaising's father, a lame beggar, to a den in 15th Kamathipura street. It appeared that the boy's step-mother had a prominent hand in the transaction. Husband and wife were both taken to the Lamington Road Police Station, together with the purchaser, and all the three were ordered to quit Bombay.

Sold for a Song

Case No. 284.

An ill-starred Hindu girl, age 10, victim of a father's greed, was sent to the Society's home by the Mahim Police. Poor thing, she was suffering from venereal disease and had acquired such bad habits that we considered it advisable to restore her to her father living near Igatpuri. On the understanding that the girl would be kept in the custody of her relations, we agreed to pay a small sum monthly for her maintenance. Within a short time, however, the girl was sold by her father to a *Kolhatim*, or singing woman, for a song. We could trace neither the girl nor the father, but we were informed that the father had passed away soon after pocketing rupees six as the reward for that nefarious contract.

How Bombay's Haunts of Vice are Filled

Cases Nos. 365 and 366.

A Hindu widow, converted to Islam in Poona, came to Bombay with two daughters, aged 8 and 10, respectively. Being homeless, they were straightway directed to one of those haunts of vice in the slave-market of Bombay—still a standing menace and disgrace to the City. The place was run by two Muhammadan women, each of whom had an unmarried son. With a view to obtaining effective control over the girls, the two women got the little ones married to the two boys. The mother of the girls was not, however, prepared to part with her treasure so easily. She, therefore, tried to leave the brothel with her daughters, but the two women asserted their claim over their daughters-in-law. The mother thereupon managed to have a complaint sent to the police authorities, charging the two women with the offence of wrongful confinement of the girls. The Magistrate, however, held that it would be dangerous to allow even the mother to take the girls away and directed that they should be sent to the Refuge.

From Bombay's Slave-market to Poona Cantonment

Case No. 710.

A brave and beautiful girl, aged 13, a native of Jodhpur, was accosted one morning by a man who told her she was wanted immediately by her mother. Taking her to a railway station, the villain brought her to Bombay. Here for a trifling consideration she was lodged in a brothel. Within two days, however, she was able to escape. Having reached Poona, she disguised herself in male attire and served as a messenger in a military camp for about two months. One day, she learnt that a medical examination of all the persons in the camp was to take place. Fearing detection, she returned to Bombay. Finding her loitering in the streets, the police authorities sent her to the Home of the Society. Our efforts to trace the villain of the story and the brothel-keeper, to whom she

had been made over, proved fruitless. We had the happiness, however, to restore her to her mother and brother and the still greater happiness to hear soon afterwards that she had been married at Jodhpur.

A Devotee's Dependents

Case No. 653.

A Hindu *vaid*, or medical practitioner, in Berar was suddenly seized one morning with the desire to renounce the world and spend the rest of his life in *Sanyas*. Deserting his wife and children, he left the house with a religious mendicant. A police officer suggested that the two children, a boy aged 7 and a girl aged 5, be made over to the Society and the mother trained as a nurse. We admitted the children to our Matunga home and arranged for the training of the mother in Dr. Popat Prabhuram's maternity hospital.

Step-mothers often Drive Children to Streets

Case No. 567.

Ill-treatment by one's father, at the instigation of one's step-mother, throws many a child on the streets. In this case the father, living in a village in Gujarat, was warned, and his son, aged 11, was restored to him. After two years, the lad was again found begging near Alexandra Dock. His excuse for coming back to Bombay was the same as before, ill-treatment. We communicated with the father once more; his elder brother came to Bombay to take him home, promising that he would live with his brother in a separate home so as not to expose the boy to the cruelty of the step-mother or of the father.

Poverty not always the cause of Beggary

Cases Nos. 146, 147 and 148.

Not all the juvenile paupers are orphans or offspring of destitute people. The father and mother of these three Hindu children, aged 6, 8 and 12, respectively, found begging in the streets of Bombay, were employees in the Maneckji Petit Mills. Their joint income was Rs. 50/- per month. Nevertheless, they asked their daughter to

lead her two brothers in the streets for alms. The minimum daily collection expected of them was twelve annas. Starvation and castigation stared them in the face if the amount collected fell short of the minimum !

A grim reminder of the burning verses of Charlotte Gilman :

“No fledgling feeds the father bird !
 No chicken feeds the hen !
 No kitten mouses for the cat--
 That glory is for men.

“We are the wisest, strongest Race--
 Loud may our praise be sung !
 The only animal alive
 That lives upon its young !”

We wished we had the authority to use the whip in a case like this ; failing that remedy, we could only warn and persuade the parents to live a cleaner and saner life.

Demand for Special Legislation

These few cases out of a couple of thousand dealt with by the Society during the last twenty years illustrate types of cases of daily occurrence. In dealing with such cases we were greatly handicaped for want of legal powers. The Poona Society, which was started as a branch of the Society previously founded in Bombay, and which had survived the shocks of time while the parent Society had found an untimely grave, laboured under the same legal disabilities. Before we moved in the matter, it had already approached Government for special legislation to prevent the ruin of minor girls. As, however, that question was then deemed controversial, a Bill to give effect to the proposal was held over during the War. Immediately after our Society was formed, a Sub-Committee was appointed to consider the question of sending a representation to Government for comprehensive legislation for the protection of children, and a representation was submitted to Government on 28th February 1918. In settling this representation the Com-

mittee had the advantage of the advice of their esteemed colleague, the late Sir Narayanrao Chandavarkar, an ex-Judge of the High Court, and an ardent social reformer.

The Children Act

The legal reform sought for brooked no delay, yet it took Government six years to set their machinery in motion. Worse still, having put the Children's Charter on the Statute Book in the year 1924, the pillars of the State fell into a stupor. Even the famous declaration of Geneva, drawn up originally by the Save the Children International Union and adopted by the League of Nations in the same year in which the Bombay Children Act was passed, could not rouse those Rip van Winkles from their slumber for three years. At last, however, owing to the powerful agitation carried on in the press and on the platform by several social workers, the Children's Act was brought into operation in the year 1927. The new Act made new demands on the resources and public spirit of the people. A special machinery for assisting in the work of administration was needed; additional homes and organizations for the care of children dealt with under the Act, were also needed. It was, therefore, decided at the conference of social workers, convened by Government, to set up a new society to act as an un-official auxiliary body for assisting Government in putting the provisions of the Act into operation and for co-operating with the existing child welfare institutions. Thanks to the efficient functioning of this new Society, named the Children's Aid Society, during the last ten years; thanks also to the band of zealous workers that have gathered round it, and to the contributions made towards its expenses by Government and the public, the work of tackling the problem of the children of the City has now been put on a satisfactory footing.

There is now a court for juveniles, and police officers have the authority to take to a place of safety any child

in respect of whom a cognizable offence has been committed and to keep the child there pending orders of that court. Powers are given to the Magistrates to send children placed before it to certified schools or orphanages, and the Society for the Protection of Children has agreed to admit such children to its homes, up to a maximum number of one hundred, in return for a small financial grant from Government.

All the police court work is now done by the Children's Aid Society ; the Society for the Protection of Children concentrates on the provision of institutional care and education for children committed by the juvenile courts, or sent to it through various other agencies from different parts of the Presidency and the country, or picked up from the streets by its own members or staff.

The Byramjee Jeejeebhoy Home

The Home of the Society is associated with the name of an eminent public-spirited Parsi citizen of Bombay of the last century—Byramjee Jeejeebhoy. The cost of building two separate blocks for boys and girls, the superintendent's quarters, the sick room and other adjuncts, including the price of the land, amounted to rupees three lakhs. Mr. Rustomji Byramjee Jeejeebhoy's liberal offer to provide land for the building enabled us to embark on the project for the construction of the buildings, and thanks to the willing assistance of Lady Carmichael, who was an active member of our Committee for several years, and of her husband, the late Sir George Carmichael, we were able to secure handsome donations from the late Sir Sharpurji Broacha, who gave a sum of Rs. 60,000/- and from the philanthropic members of the public.

Provision was originally made in the home for giving primary education to the children and teaching them manual work. Now, however, with the various Municipal Schools round about the place, the residents of the home get free primary education in those schools, and a few children who show special aptitude for higher studies are

sent to high schools. One of these is now attending a college. He is in the Inter-Science class and his ambition is to join a medical college. The less gifted boys are taught gardening, cane-work and carpentry ; some are trained as mechanics in workshops. The girls are taught sewing, knitting and fancy work, and a good many of them go straight from our institution to their husbands' home.

There were 208 children in the home, on the 1st June 1937. The following table gives the caste, sex and age of these children :

Caste

Hindu	...	...	150
Muhammadans	...	...	41
Christians	...	...	16
Parsees	...	...	1
			<hr/> 208

Sex and Age

Boys under 10 years	...	42
Boys over 10 years	...	89
Girls under 10 years	...	41
Girls over 10 years	...	<hr/> 36
		<hr/> 208

It would be taxing the patience of the reader considerably were I to overlay this Chapter with figures showing the cases dealt with by our Society during the last twenty-one years and by the Children's Aid Society during the last few years. Suffice it to say that it has been their good fortune individually and jointly to restore several hundreds of truants to their parents, to provide shelter for numerous neglected or ill-treated children, to prevail upon a large number of callous parents to treat their offspring with consideration, to educate and turn out a large number of boys and girls as useful, self-supporting citizens, and to get several wronged and ruined girls

married and settled comfortably in life. Nevertheless, it must be admitted that many a child that is hungry still remains to be fed, many a child that is sick still remains to be nursed, many a child that is backward still remains to be helped, and many a child that is exploited still remains to be rescued.

The Cinderellas of the Presidency

There is one class of children, however, for whom no satisfactory provision whatsoever has as yet been made, namely the mentally defective. In the hospitable City of Bombay there is not a single institution to take them in hand. Ever since the Society for the Protection of Children was started, such children with their behaviour problems have given the authorities the greatest anxiety. They were found to be a positive danger to the other inmates of the home; but there was no institution to which they could be passed on. The same difficulty was subsequently experienced by the Children's Aid Society. A Home where mentally deficient children of the worst type, who are beyond hope of recovery, can be kept in comfort, and another where the improvable cases can be taken in hand and trained so as to develop their latent potentialities and wean them of faulty habits and tendencies, are urgently necessary. That a large number of children given up as mentally deficient are capable of improvement has been amply demonstrated by the special class for training manageable subnormal children, maintained at the Byramjee Jeejeebhoy Home. The class was started as an experiment, but the results have been so satisfactory that the management wish to maintain it on a permanent basis. The children in this class join in singing, musical drills, nature study and talks on personal hygiene and engage in simple useful occupations such as sewing, knitting, paper-cutting, corn-cleaning and clay modelling. As a result they have been quicker, happier, more alert, more sensible and more useful than before and continue to show satisfactory improvement in their general appearance and behaviour as well as in the quality

of work turned out by them. Some of them are now able to attend vernacular schools in the neighbourhood, and the exhibits of their work were much appreciated at the Exhibition held two years ago by the Bombay Presidency Women's Council in Bombay. But alas! as against this handful of children whose mental faculties are thus being improved, how many there are who receive no such training and who gradually drift to mental hospitals as confirmed imbeciles. How long will society suffer them to be thus neglected?

A new organization, backed by Government and public support, is urgently necessary to take care of these cinderellas of society. Whoever comes forward with a liberal donation for starting such an organization and the necessary homes and child guidance clinics will supply a want most keenly felt throughout India.

Victims of Modern City Life

Before I conclude, I should like to call attention to an important aspect of the problem of juvenile destitution and delinquency. Why is it that so many organizations are called for in the great cities of the civilized world to cater to the wants of neglected, oppressed, feeble-minded and delinquent children? Those who have observed the dire distress, squalor and social isolation in which the submerged classes of our population live, the horrible handicaps which brutalise their senses, harden anti-social instincts and annihilate in many cases the natural feelings of parental tenderness and affection, need hardly be told where to look for the causes of that malady. There are, however, many who have no idea of the grinding poverty and wretchedness of thousands and thousands of their fellow-citizens and they fail to realize how the children of the destitute become an incubus, rendering their parents and guardians an easy prey to the temptations that are held before them by the ruffians and social parasites who live on the exploitation and corruption of children. Such social parasites of both sexes are products, mostly, of our economic order which throws thousands

on the street without any provision for their living. Dreadful destitution leads to their degradation, and when the homeless and workless become criminals, all that Society does is to send them to prison, thence to be thrown once more on the streets, only to be taken back to prison, at regular intervals, as habitual offenders. Unless work is provided for the workless and correctional institutions established for socializing the confirmed loafer, the drone and the able-bodied beggar; unless social justice long denied is vouchsafed to myriads of suffering people sacrificed on the altar of the Moloch of the existing economic organization of Society, countless men and women will continue to stalk the land like brutes, constituting a menace to infant and adult life alike. Such is the penalty humanity has to pay for the defects in the existing social order. Of the many victims of modern city life, the most pitiable are the street children and the slum children who, unfortunately for them, live to grow up dipsomaniacs, consumptives, or criminals. Indeed, in those public places infested by the scum of society; in those rookeries of our cities; in those dens of dirt and disease; in those horrid haunts of crime and shame; what can we hope to rear other than a progeny doomed to starvation and degradation, inebriety and insanity, delinquency, misery and ignominy? Therefore, in the midst of our efforts to extend a helping hand to children at every stage of their journey to adolescence, let us remember that we are thereby touching merely the fringe of the problem. If we want to strike at the root, let us not forget that the social malady of juvenile destitution and delinquency is not merely an isolated phenomenon and that it has to be dealt with in relation to the larger problem of the city's starving and submerged population. So long as the souls of such down-trodden people groan under grievous social wrongs, so long as those wrongs remain unredressed, thousands of children will carry on their tiny shoulders the overwhelming burden of the handicaps of heredity, of the evils of environment and of all the sins and sorrows and sufferings incidental to

the social diseases and economic disabilities which paralysed their parents and grand-parents in the past and which will continue to smite and cripple them with redoubled force in the future.

Such is the complex and confounding problem of destitute, defective and delinquent children, for which the entire civilized world has as yet to find a satisfactory solution. But difficult as it is, the advanced nations of the world have been increasingly devoting their energy and resources to the task of dealing comprehensively with the problem. As the science of administration advances, it is recognised everywhere that the function of government is not merely to collect taxes and to spend the proceeds on the protection of life and property, or on the development of material resources. Its *primary* function is to develop the living forces of the country, the entire population, juvenile as well as adult. Recognising this sacred duty, let us individually and collectively resolve to do our best to improve the existing order. Let us tell our backward brethren and their children that howsoever grievously they may have been neglected in the past, it will hereafter be recognised as the duty of the Government of this country and the public, to lift them from squalor and misery, to open the prison door and to allow them entrance into the realm of opportunity—and hope.

CHAPTER II

MATERNAL WELFARE

BY

SIR MANGALDAS V. MEHTA, Kt., O. B. E., F. R. C. P. I., F. C. P. S.
(*Chairman, The Bombay Presidency Infant Welfare Society.*)

Introduction

In the scheme of this volume I have been allotted the honour of considering the subject of maternal morbidity and mortality, in which a large amount of investigation has already been made in India by the medical profession and the Health Department. Compared with what has been achieved in foreign countries, India has still a long way to go. Many of us interested in maternal welfare are therefore weighed down with disappointment that so little has been accomplished in spite of brilliant advances in the theory and practice of obstetrics. The subject is further a vast one ; for it includes all the adverse circumstances associated with obstetric practice, viz., maternal disabilities, still births, and neonatal deaths.

Statistical data are lacking on many of the important aspects of this subject. We are making an attempt to collect informative data on the disabilities of pregnancy toxaemias and anaemias. We are also trying to study the results of the clinics and centres in various parts of the Presidency. These are but feeble attempts at tackling a problem of such vast magnitude.

The subject of maternity service is very closely connected with the above. As one who has continuously advocated maternity service for this country and made it a life study, I am glad to have this opportunity of expressing my views on the subject. If any statements are therefore made or any criticisms offered concerning certain lines of policy, I wish it to be distinctly understood that these statements have not been made or criticisms offered,

in any carping spirit, but with a view to raising maternity service to a respectable level of efficiency.

From either the humanitarian or utilitarian standpoint, health problems are always of supreme importance, and no health problem is of such great consequence to a nation as that of maternal and infant welfare. The problem of maternal morbidity and mortality is indeed a complicated and vast one in India. Ignorance, illiteracy, and vested interests of the time-worn practitioners—the Ayurvedists and the Unanists render the task a difficult one. The teaching of these latter has always been to divide maternal and infant welfare into four distinct compartments : they fail to see that each is but a part of the whole and that a connecting thread runs through them all. The most important section of all—the maternity section is given the lowest place in their order of things, and is relegated to an untrained and illiterate class of women—the “dais”. While, in foreign countries, the midwives are a highly trained and intelligent body of women ; have a recognised position in society, and have their calling looked upon as honourable and important, unfortunately it is the other way in India. Far too many mothers are illiterate and steeped in superstition, while the father tends to be indifferent, for he can get a new wife with ease. It is in towns and cities like Bombay alone, that we see a reflection of the Western conditions, i.e., a connected chain of agencies concerned with maternal and infant welfare—such as the obstetric specialist, the general practitioner, the midwife and the voluntary maternity hospitals.

Maternity Service

The first important development was the organisation of the education and practice of midwifery. The next was the institution of welfare clinics to carry on the good work already inaugurated by the midwives. Antenatal and postnatal care have followed in their wake. Such revolutionary changes in the cities, when contrasted with the conditions found in the villages, render one aghast at the

wide gap that exists between the two. While the morbidity and mortality rate in certain cities has been appreciably lowered, that in many urban and all rural areas continues at the present high level, chiefly because the essential factors militating against betterment are permitted to continue.

Maternal mortality and morbidity can never be reduced to zero : the price has to be paid for motherhood. There are further, such other disturbing factors as social conditions or religious beliefs. An attempt has to be made to bring the rate to a low level, but it may mean years, or it may mean decades. However, I have every hope that the goal will be reached, for the good work in Bombay is already infecting many of my colleagues in the mofussil with enthusiasm and hope.

Maternity Mortality

In spite of the great advances in the practice of midwifery and the development in the West of the various factors associated with it, I should like to impress upon my readers that "the mortality position remains on the whole unchanged in the British Isles," and much the same may happen in the Bombay Presidency and in India during the coming years. Recent investigations in England have shown that a great part of this unsatisfactory position has to be attributed to several factors—factors which are almost alike in England and in India. Apart therefore from the text book causes of deaths in pregnancy and childbirth, there are a number of possible influencing factors which are intrinsically vague and incapable of accurate assessment ; there are others more definite in character and capable of assessment with some degree of exactness.

Environment, residence, housing, overcrowding, and personal conditions such as physical constitution, cleanliness, standard of living, economic condition, and education are factors difficult to assess. Something definite, however, can always be assessed about age, seasonal variations, antenatal care, venereal infections, place of

confinement, attendance at birth, nature and degree of obstetric interference. It is a truism to say that pregnancy and labour are physiological processes ; but extenuating circumstances often indistinctly understood, so frequently deviate from the normal that it is usual to look on all pregnant women as potentially ill persons. Here lies the danger : normality is so frequently present that an abnormality is easily overlooked.

Unassessable Factors

The statistics of England and Wales and Scotland published from time to time almost seem to confirm the results arrived at by the Director of Public Health, India,—a lower rural mortality is generally observed, where the death rate from puerperal sepsis is, as a rule, lower than in the same class of women in an urban area. The reason is obvious. The rustic woman accustomed to freedom from danger in pregnancy and labour carries her habits to the urban area on migrating there, but she cannot carry with her the rustic conditions. In the new, unfavourable environment, her original neglect of personal and home hygiene becomes a deciding factor. She declines to attend the antenatal clinic of a hospital and remains content with domiciliary service with its unsatisfactory results. The Glasgow Maternity Hospital statistics for 1926-1930 show that only 27 per cent. of the women receiving domiciliary service attended the antenatal clinics.

The regularity of clinic attendance influences to a remarkable extent the statistics of any given area. Further, there are differences between midwives and midwives, even though they be diplomaed ones. Variations in the returns for domiciliary service are thus bound to occur.

Apart from the factors of cleanliness and antenatal care, the physique and dietary of the women affords a distinct contrast in statistics. The Johns Hopkins Hospital (Baltimore) statistics showed that for the period of 1899-1931, the mortality rate per cent. among the white and

coloured population was 0.74 and 1.08 respectively. Infection following labour was more common among the negro than in the white population. In India the problem is equally complicated and we are trying to seek confirmation from our dietetic inquiry among the poor women attending the clinics of certain localities in Bombay. Any chronic disease, including anaemia, has, as everywhere else, a most deleterious influence. Habit and mode of life are on the whole of highest importance in individual cases.

Assessable Factors

Though puerperal sepsis is mainly dependent on cleanliness, seasonal and climatic conditions affect the mortality rate with uniform periodicity—most of the statistics showing a winter and spring excess and an autumnal fall. We are familiar with similar periodicities in the number of intensities of plague, pneumonia, influenza, typhoid, etc., hence that it should occur with the organisms of puerperal sepsis is no occasion for surprise. In a recent epidemic of *Streptococcus Haemolyticus* in one of the hospitals of Bombay a similar seasonal variation was also noticed.

Age of the Mother

M'Kinlay's investigations for England and Wales (1915-23), showed that mortality due to childbirth is highest in mothers of the 15 to 20 years age group. Barring this age group, the mortality incidence in child-bearing females is the same as that of other females and the death rate also shows a gradual and steady increase with age. His figures further show that toxæmias of pregnancy, abortions, and abnormal positions of the unborn infant are three times more frequent, and forceps have to be used twice as frequently in primiparas of the age of 40 years than in primiparas of 20 years of age, while the duration of labour is likewise longer by six hours. An investigation on these and many other lines is

badly required in India ; but experience shows that the above holds good here as well as in England and Wales.

Number of Pregnancies

In the first pregnancy, toxæmias are more frequent, and labour is more prolonged ; puerperal infection is therefore more commonly seen in it and the mortality is very high. Subsequent to this the rise in mortality gradually increases with parity and is explained by the fact that any weaknesses acquired in previous pregnancies gradually gain in strength.

The influence of certain sociological factors on maternal mortality, e.g., housing conditions, age at marriage, and illegitimacy, is difficult to assess. Whenever two or more factors operate at the same time it has been difficult for M'Kinlay to assess the part played by each of them. It stands to reason, however, that better housing conditions, a reasonably high age of marriage, better sense of responsibility by the mother, and legitimacy should influence to the good the maternal mortality rate.

Lowering of the mortality rate is no simple job. Hygienic conditions, sense of personal hygiene, and social and economic conditions influence the mortality just as much as an inefficient or efficient maternity service will do. In India, the problem can be considered no less complicated than in the Western countries. Improvement in maternity service is sadly needed but improvement in other conditions is equally urgent.

Causes of Maternal Deaths

Comparisons between past and present death-rates are always futile. The changes in nomenclature and progressive advances in exactness of notification and accuracy of classification make any comparisons practically useless.

Many lay people believe that maternal deaths are always the result of sepsis. Sepsis is one of the main causes, but not the only one, for 25 to 50 per cent. of deaths are due to other causes, viz., diseases of preg-

nancy, abnormalities of labour and diseases during the post-natal period. Further, these "other causes" are often the important contributory factors to puerperal sepsis. Thus for instance, an unfavourable placental site (placenta praevia), or haemorrhage and operative interference during labour, increases the liability to childbed infection. The causes of death arranged in descending order are infection, convulsions, bleeding, accidents of childbirth, and "other diseases".

There are certain groups of fatalities in which pregnancy and labour act only as contributory causes. Among these, lung and heart diseases take a high place; pulmonary tuberculosis, carcinomas, cachexia, also contribute their quota.

Toxaemias of gestation, e.g., pernicious vomiting, kidney disease and convulsions (eclampsia), take a heavy toll, but the death-rate becomes almost negligible if patients are transferred to institutions before the disease becomes intractable. Antenatal care plays a prominent part in controlling such mortality.

Haemorrhages of gestation such as abortion, ectopic pregnancy, placenta praevia, accidental haemorrhage and post partum haemorrhage cause about 15 per cent. of the total fatalities.

Other accidents of parturition are phlegmasias and embolism. Gross trauma is responsible for a considerable number of deaths, and cases with serious laceration of the uterus and vagina are often admitted to hospitals in India, where signs of inefficient and hasty interference are commonly seen.

It is thus often impossible to track down the cause of death with exactness. What we require is courage and determination to institute those remedial measures which we feel confident must lower the maternal death-rate

Puerperal Fever

It has been demonstrated time after time in maternity hospitals that whenever the rigid antiseptic ritual was relaxed the fever rate rose and fatalities increased. Cvsti-

tis, pyelitis, infection of the breasts, also contribute their quota, and fever due to infections of the upper respiratory tract is often seen. These complications are often difficult to diagnose. All parturient women are more vulnerable to injury and infections and should be protected from them. Fortunately our knowledge of many of them is becoming more and more accurate. Droplet or spray infection has now been accepted as one of the chief causes of grave puerperal infection and is often seen in domiciliary practice. That some women escape infection and others succumb to it, is not peculiar to obstetrical practice; a scratch on the finger in many may result in nothing happening in others it may be followed by septicaemia and death. Whatever happens, depends, as in all infections, on the nature and virulence of the organism, the local conditions and the resistance of the patient

Maternal Morbidity and Subsequent Disablement

Fever and temporary discomforts are of little importance if the mother is completely restored to health in a few weeks. The danger is that permanent functional damage may result if the patient insists on taking up her household duties too soon. A particular weakness has a tendency to become more and more pronounced in subsequent pregnancies, until eventually it may cause the permanent invalidism or death of the woman. There are three outstanding causes of disability resulting from pregnancy and childbirth: (1) Toxaemia, (2) Infection, (3) Trauma.

Abortions

The League of Nations in its report (July 1930) stated that "Abortion plays a serious and regrettable part in the production of puerperal sepsis and therefore in the causation of maternal morbidity and deaths; and the mortality is three or four times higher than that due to confinement. Taussing (1930) asserts that 50 per cent. of abortions are criminal and that 15,000 women die

annually as a result of abortions in U. S. America." The Registrar General's returns (England 1930) show that the proportion of deaths from abortions to total deaths in childbed is 11.9 and infection following abortions accounts for 21.2 per cent of maternal deaths from childbed fever—the streptococcus being mostly the offending organism. Therefore abortion should not be dealt with in the obstetrical department and the patients should not be housed with uninfected maternity patients, as the infections are contagious. It is necessary to observe here that in all countries the rise in deaths from abortion is very marked in large cities.

The toxæmias of pregnancy take a terrible toll in the shape of hyperremesis, nephritis, eclampsia, cerebral haemorrhage and accidental haemorrhage—the fatalities due to these being about 13 per cent. of the toxæmia cases.

Chronic infective lesions of the lower genital tract produce discharge, discomfort, mild invalidism, and possible sterility, and they can often be cured without loss or deformity of the parts. However, lesions of the upper genital tract produce greater invalidism and often result in permanent loss of function or part.

The various traumas in order of frequency are: lacerated cervix, cystocele, lacerated perineum, hypertrophy of vaginal cervix, rectocele. Retro-displacement is found at a relatively early age. The measures employed to prevent disablement are adequate antenatal and intranatal care; mortality, however, is easier to reduce than morbidity.

Neonatal Deaths and Disablements

The accoucheur has to be familiar with the accidents and diseases of early infancy. Some of the early deaths are inevitable, especially those due to prematurity and congenital deformities; other causes of death are marasmus, asphyxia, birth injuries, and development defects. Early detection of injury or disease is of the greatest importance. To avoid the high death rate due attention

should be paid to the infant before, during and after labour, and the great hope of reducing this death rate lies in the development of antenatal care, careful delivery, and improved knowledge of infant hygiene.

Prevention is Cheaper than Cure

Preventive work should be real, that is, it should anticipate disease. The actual cost of an antenatal clinic is not large ; there is no expensive equipment or apparatus, the chief cost is the time of the personnel. The amount saved is difficult to reckon. First, there is the actual saving of life, both maternal and infant. Unnecessary deaths are wasteful to the community as well as to the family. Then there is the saving in the confinement expenses, the ability to use the midwives instead of doctors ; the absence of many sudden emergencies, expensive operations and treatments ; the saving in morbidity involving expense to the family as well as to the hospital. It is impossible to assess all these and the other similar items which might be considered. It is pertinent to suggest that an expansion of antenatal work would enable maternity hospitals to be carried on at a considerably lower bed cost than they are at present.

Every maternity hospital should have a complete unit of its own, comprising the following :

1. Antenatal clinic
2. Maternity hospital
3. Postnatal clinic
4. Infant welfare clinic
5. And lastly, the health visitor to act as the connecting link between the above four.

There is now a fair number of antenatal clinics attached to general and maternity hospitals and welfare clinics, but I do not feel there is yet a belief that the antenatal clinic is as essential a part of the maternity hospital as the apparatus in the labour room.

We used to be told that patients would never learn to come on a certain day and at a certain time for a certain purpose. If this condition ever existed, it certainly does

not exist now in any place big enough to have a hospital of the kind we are visualising. There may be difficulties at first, but the patients soon get used to the idea. Once the helpfulness of the antenatal clinic is recognized by expectant mothers, the attendance increases naturally, through one woman recommending it to another.

The postnatal clinic is also a potent weapon against morbidity, either immediate or at a future date—e.g., another pregnancy. Every patient should be urged to attend for the requisite number of times. If numbers are not many, the postnatal and antenatal clinics can be held at the same time.

The care of the infant is continued at an infant welfare clinic. It is the duty of the maternity hospital to put the mother into definite touch with such clinics.

I believe that a health visitor is a most valuable adjunct in antenatal work and an enormous help in securing regular attendance. Through the home visits the health visitor can discover the patient's social and economic condition and ascertain whether or not she is really co-operating. The health visitor can also amplify the health education given at the clinics in a more individual manner.

Antenatal Care

Pregnant women have always received special attention, even in the early ages. To-day this attention is called antenatal care. The influence this care exerts on maternal mortality is best judged by a consideration of eclampsia and other toxæmias. The organism of the mother has to control and overcome by adjustment the aggressive forces launched against it. For some women the struggle is easy ; for many it is difficult. It is necessary that full co-operation be secured and that the patient should be "mothered" during pregnancy. The patient herself is often her own worst enemy, whether from ignorance, apathy, ill-health or prejudice. Friendly societies can often render great assistance in this matter.

The advantages of such care from the economic standpoint are many : provision for septic cases would be

enormously reduced and so also would be that for gynaecological cases.

Antenatal care has two distinct objectives : to carry the pregnant woman safely through pregnancy, and through labour. It falls under two heads : the care of women subject to intercurrent or associated diseases and of healthy women. Under the first group are included those with cardiac, chronic renal and lung complaints—for such diseases are responsible for 18·20 per cent of the total fatalities in pregnancy and childbirth

The reaction of healthy women to pregnancy varies greatly. Not infrequently the strongest and the healthiest are the most disturbed. Elaborate treatment is not necessary but watchful care is essential. The most important factors are attention to intake of food and elimination. There would be few cases of toxæmias if all pregnant women took only simple ordinary diet, drank 4 pints of fluid a day, had a thorough evacuation of the bowels and no over-fatigue. Examination of urine and noting the blood pressure are most important. The above instructions are exacting but not costly. What antenatal care can do in toxæmias has already been mentioned above.

Intranatal Care

Eardly Holland remarks "that antenatal methods are the strategy and intranatal methods the tactics of obstetrics ; the necessity of getting a better standard of midwifery practice must be recognised."

The objectives of intranatal care are a safe conduct through labour and a live and uninjured child and are insured by attention to the following : (1) prevention of infection, trauma and of retention of membranes or placenta ; (2) prevention of exhaustion and hæmorrhage ; (3) ensuring a satisfactory puerperium and recovery, and (4) effecting delivery of the child without any injury to him.

Domiciliary Service

This is the simplest method of dealing with the bulk of normal deliveries, but where home accommodation is

limited, institutional treatment has many advantages. A large number of patients are delivered in institutions annually, who should have been transferred much earlier in pregnancy or labour; for primigravidas, institutional treatment is a necessity.

Domiciliary service associated with institutions yields good results and is comparatively cheap, but there must be very close supervision of the midwives' work. The service associated with the nursing associations yields fairly good results, as the supervision is close, and in return the midwives are assured better housing, salary and a pension. Domiciliary service by midwives in private practice has proved unsatisfactory. The midwife has much to contend with, and not the least is the difficulty she has of sterilizing her outfit and in securing surgical dressings and utensils. Domiciliary service is adequate for normal cases but is totally inadequate for abnormal parturitions.

Institutional Service

While there are exponents of domiciliary service, authorities like Dr. Edwin Smith declare that "the sooner this country (England) realises that childbirth should take place only in medical expert institutions, the better it will be for our future generation." There is definite evidence everywhere of a steady increase in the number of women who for domestic or other reasons desire to go into an institution for delivery. In Stockholm 90 per cent. of deliveries take place in institutions, and institutional delivery is very decidedly encouraged in 'America. There are chances of its increase in England. Institutional service is already making headway in India and more particularly in Bombay. In my opinion its extension would result in a still further lowering of the maternal death rate.

CHAPTER III

THE EDUCATION OF THE PRESCHOOL CHILD

BY

J. M. KUMARAPPA, M. A., S. T. B., PH. D.

*(Professor of Social Economy, The Sir Dorabji Tata Graduate School
of Social Work, Bombay.)*

The Infant School Movement in the West was brought into existence by the Industrial Revolution which, by taking mothers away from their homes, forced the care of their children upon other agencies. Though Leibnitz, Rousseau, Pestalozzi and others down to Froebel viewed infant education up to the age of six as the training of children within the home, yet the advance of industrialism made it necessary to organize infant schools in the interests of the children of the poor parents who, in their struggle for existence, could afford neither the means of education nor the time necessary for the careful training of their children. The early infant schools were, therefore, expressly designed to meet this new demand for a place to take care of children while mothers were at work and to help them to acquire the elements of reading, writing and arithmetic. In England, however, owing to the writings of Robert Owen and the example of his Infant School at New Lanark, the movement for the provision of Infant Schools laid considerable stress from the outset not only on physical well-being but also on the training of affections and the formation of good moral and social habits.

The present trend in nursery school education has, therefore, back of it all the experience and knowledge gained through this fairly long history of kindergarten education and the fifty years of child study. To this fund of knowledge, the intensive scientific research on

the problems of the preschool child during the last two decades has also made its notable contribution. Hence this movement has become more vigorous and full of promise in the progressive countries of the West. Since the World War, there has also been an entirely new evaluation of the importance of the preschool years. Studies of the hygiene, the growth, and the mental and emotional development of children have proved the vital importance of these early years in the shaping of the course of later life of the individual. In fact, modern psychologists trace a great many of the physical, mental, moral and emotional disturbances, that so frequently cause serious problems in later childhood or adolescence, to an unfavourable or improper adjustment of children during their preschool years. Since no period in the life of the individual is so plastic, so easily moulded and so easily guided into the desirable forms of behaviour as the preschool period, they maintain that many of such unfortunate complications in later life may be prevented if a system of wholesome, sane and scientific training in the nurseries of the home and the school can be provided. Since the preschool years are now recognized as of greater educational importance than any succeeding period of life, the main function of the nursery school is to furnish an environment in which the child can develop a sound mind in a sound body, and acquire desirable social attitudes.

Recently the nursery school has come to receive some attention in our country as an aspect of the Child Welfare Movement. The impact of western industrialism on Indian civilization has given rise to social and economic changes, which definitely affect the lives of young children and create serious social problems. One of these changes is the increase in the number of wage-earning mothers. Some working mothers enter gainful occupations from economic necessity, and others in order to give their time and talents for the promotion of the national welfare. Another important change is the different environment for children brought about by modern industry.

Tenement housing provides an atmosphere which is by no means conducive to the best development of young children. To these causes must also be added the appalling ignorance of Indian mothers regarding the care and training of children. Is not, for instance, the high rate of infantile mortality, which is now a matter of grave concern, due to this lack of knowledge of child welfare? The Executive Health Officer of the Bombay Municipality points out that by far the greater number of infantile deaths are due to infantile debility and malformation; respiratory diseases, convulsions, diarrhoea and enteritis are next in importance as causes. The custom of early marriage and primitive and insanitary methods of midwifery seriously affect the health and vitality of the mother, and through her that of the child. All these conditions make child welfare activities of paramount importance to our national welfare.

The task of motherhood in India is manifold in complexity and the Indian mother is ill-qualified to undertake it. The nursery school can easily become not only a useful institution for the care and training of the preschool child but also a powerful organization for the promotion of parental education. Our main purpose in nursery school education must therefore be to provide proper environment for the growth of the preschool child as well as guidance to parents in child care. Other supplementary purposes may include the preparation of teachers, research in the field of child development, pre-parental education, relief for parents from day-time care of children and instruction in home management.

Childhood is the period of life most abounding in problems for the parent, the physician and the teacher, and yet the Indian mother is unaware of her responsibilities because of her ignorance of the physical, mental and moral needs of the young child. The preschool period has certain outstanding characteristics. During the first year the infant is specially liable to certain nutritional diseases, such as infantile diarrhoea, rickets and digestive disturbances. Between the ages of one and five, the

incidence of acute infections and fevers, such as measles, chicken-pox, whooping cough and diphtheria, is heavier than at any other period. Children are on the whole very susceptible to infectious illness during early childhood, but Indian children are even more so on account of insufficiency of diet and consequent low vitality. Malnutrition produces mental apathy and muscular inertia; it makes the under-nourished child inactive and incapable of maintaining sustained effort of any sort. Further, it causes failure in normal growth which, in turn, causes failure in appetite. The health needs and food requirements of the young child call for special attention.

In human beings the sense organs of highest significance to intellectual development are the eyes and ears, and these are peculiarly susceptible to injurious influences during early childhood. The normal eye, if over-worked, may suffer from fatigue; such strain is likely to occur even more quickly in children who have an error of refraction. Among the ordinary symptoms of eye strain are headache, frowning, blinking, twitching and rubbing of the eyes. There may be, in addition, some external inflammation, as of the margins of the eyelids or of the delicate lining of the front of the eyeball. These inflammatory conditions may be produced by external infections, malnutrition or uncleanness. Further, in the pre-school child, the irregular rates of growth in different parts of the eye often lead to temporary failures of adaptation. When the muscular co-ordination is imperfect, it produces a squint. Though children tend to grow out of this defect, a great number of cases require correction by spectacles, special exercises, or even by operation. Squint in children is a condition which usually yields to early treatment. If, on the other hand, it is neglected, a failure of normal vision usually results, as the child uses one eye to the gradual exclusion of the other, the function of which eventually undergoes atrophy through disuse. Most of the physical defects in our children are not inevitable; they are due largely to ignorance and neglect.

Hearing, like vision, varies considerably in young

children. Since the delicate mucous membrane of the deep surface of the drum of the middle ear and of the Eustachian tube is continuous with that of the respiratory tract, any inflammation of the latter, whether it be due to irritating gases, or to an infection, such as an ordinary cold or an acute infectious fever, may extend to the Eustachian tube and middle ear. Inflammatory conditions of the middle ear are far more frequent in preschool age than at any other period. And at that age they are peculiarly dangerous because the acute pain of earache does not always appear in the very young whenever there is severe inflammation in the middle ear. The preschool age is a highly susceptible age to contagious diseases. Chronic infection lowers the vitality of the body and retards the physical and mental development of the child.

Another aspect, which may be mentioned in this connection, is the spontaneous activity of the preschool child. His tendencies to spontaneous action may be grouped under two heads : (a) those called appetitive, and (b) those described as reactive. Activities such as eating, drinking, excretion, dressing etc., are classified under the first group ; they are concerned with physiological needs and arise out of inner feelings. If too much attention is given to these, the emotional development of the child may become warped. The child's reactive tendencies are stimulated by the natural conditions of his environment ; he is thus kept in constant touch with the real world outside. But for the urban child there is little in his environment to satisfy his natural impulses. It is important therefore to provide for him an environment which will stimulate him to spontaneous reaction.

Between the ages of two and five, the child is gaining knowledge about the world around him through his senses, and is learning to exercise them. As has already been mentioned, the eye and the ear in human beings are the sense organs of the highest cognitive value. To this we may add what is commonly known as "touch". The child's constant desire to handle things and see how they feel should be restricted as little as possible. The higher

senses, particularly the eye and ear, require opportunities for "sense training". The preschool child needs, therefore, an environment with objects well within the range of his spontaneous interests and which will give variety and meaning to his sense perception.

The most outstanding trait, however, of the preschool child is his great capacity for muscular activity. The muscles which are brought under control during this period of the child's development are mostly the larger muscles and mechanism of locomotion. Human life being essentially dynamic, subsists through a series of movements, and all these movements should be sustained in regular and adequate exercise. Respiration, digestion, the circulation of blood and all the excretory operations involve movements. It is natural, therefore, for the child to toddle, run about, hop and jump, and climb over and around obstacles in order to keep himself physically fit.

The mental life of the preschool child, however, is not wholly absorbed in movements and sensation. Besides moving and perceiving, he also feels pleasure or pain in his actions and their consequences. His mental processes are mainly concerned with feelings and fancies till he acquires sufficient language to enable him to think conceptually. That is why "make-believe" play and fairy tales appeal to him at this stage. He needs during this period simple conversation about what he sees in order to fix his attention, clarify his thoughts and store his mind with ideas for future use.

Of all the general features that mark the behaviour of the child during the first two or three years of his life, the most obvious and the most significant is the great strength of feelings and impulses as compared with the weakness of understanding and power of control. The reason for this is that most of the powerful impulses develop early while intelligence matures far more slowly. The intensity of the child's emotional life reaches its zenith towards the end of the third year. Hence small children, both in their moral judgments and in their notions of just punishment, are far more severe than they

are in later years. They need, therefore, proper guidance in their social relationships and careful training in emotional expression and control.

As the preschool child is endlessly active, he is in need of plenty of sleep not only to produce a restorative effect on the functions of life, but also to grant respite from the exhaustion of his physical activities. The amount of sleep required varies greatly according to the state of the organism and habits of the individual child. Children of the age of two sleep for twelve or fourteen hours of the day, and those between the ages of two and seven may sleep from ten to twelve hours a day.

In view of these needs and characteristics of the preschool child, the major objectives of nursery school education should be :

(1) To provide healthy external conditions such as light, sunshine, space and fresh air.

(2) To provide opportunity for outdoor play and indoor activity that will develop and co-ordinate the muscles of his body and movements of his limbs.

(3) To provide facilities for medical care and health supervision.

(4) To assist each child to form for himself wholesome personal habits.

(5) To develop interest-drives in the child and to provide opportunity for the expression of the child's creative imagination.

(6) To provide experience in group living on a small scale by making the child a responsible member of the group.

The main purpose of the nursery school then is to serve the physical, social and intellectual needs of the preschool child. Its functions are, therefore, physical, social and educational. It is, in fact, the emphasis, which the nursery school places on physical well-being, that distinguishes it from the ordinary school. Nevertheless, since the training of the young child for health is a function that involves his entire handling, rather than merely the giving of formal instruction, no separation can be

made between health education and general care and training. The outstanding problem of the period is the establishment of basic habits of physical care and mental attitudes. Health education, as distinct from training in health habits, may be given by the use of the story or conversation period to interest the children in health activities and the reasons for them, and by the use of songs and rhymes about health practices. A direct explanation may also be given to the child of the reasons why certain things should be done and others not done such as, for instance, why one should cover the mouth and turn the head when about to sneeze. The habits which are to be cultivated are those relating to personal hygiene, to eating, sleeping and other desirable attitudes toward the individual himself and toward his fellows.

The nursery school children are at an age when susceptibility to infection is very high. It therefore puts a heavy responsibility on those in charge, and necessitates adequate medical supervision and health care. Every institution established for the education and training of young children should have the services of a physician qualified in the medical care of little children. Since the fundamental purpose of the nursery school is to provide an environment in which the health of the child can be safeguarded, there are certain aspects of physical care which should be carefully followed ; of these the principal are inspections by the school doctor not less than once a term and sometimes once a month ; frequent visits by the school nurse ; the systematic measuring and weighing of children ; the exercise of great care in the detection and isolation of cases of infectious illness, and the keeping of a medical record for each child. The throat, teeth, heart, lungs and skin of the preschool child need frequent examination. The importance of preventive and remedial treatment for Indian children below the age of five cannot be overemphasized. One of the great advantages of the nursery school is the opportunity it affords for the early detection and treatment of defects of the respiratory tract, of the sense organs and of skin diseases.

The social function of the nursery school is doublefold : it has to train the child in right personal and social behaviour, and so fit him later to be a useful member of the community. And it has also to exert through the child an influence for good on the standards and ideals of the home. In other words, it should influence the mother directly or indirectly and give her better knowledge of her child's needs and training. The nursery school, by bringing together children of the same age under sympathetic and trained leadership, makes it possible for the little boys and girls to learn desirable ways of behaving. In such surroundings, it is easy for the child to learn to take turns, to share and to differentiate between what is his and what belongs to another ; to stand up for himself without intruding on the rights of others, and to control his emotions and express them in acceptable ways. Training in making such social adjustments is of paramount importance, and will prove to be of incalculable value in later life.

The education of the preschool child is informal rather than formal. In fact, it depends to a large degree upon the character of the contacts between the child and the teacher, and between the children themselves rather than upon the transmission of specific content. A succession of happy and joyous pursuits and activities, in which there is no distinction between work and play, comprise the daily programme of the school. The children work when they think they are playing, and play when they think they are working. The educational ideas which influence modern nursery school practice are derived largely from Froebel and Madame Montessori. Where the Froebelian influence is strong, much importance is attached to play, story telling, singing, dancing, nature study and handwork, in all of which the teacher plays a prominent part. Where Montessorian influence prevails, the emphasis is laid rather on individual effort, sense training, and the use of didactic apparatus ; the teacher observes and guides, and the children are allowed within a prepared environment and within certain limits to fol-

low their own pursuits. In the best nursery schools the method is eclectic, and combines features drawn from various sources. The pursuits include rhythmic movements, speech training, handwork, dancing, singing and reciting. The manual activities are of a simple character, such as digging in sand pits, building with large wooden blocks and drawing with crayons. The activities and pursuits of each day in the nursery school are so designed as to help the senses, to guide the imagination and to form right personal habits and social attitudes in young children.

The modern approach and training of the young child is characterized by an increasing recognition of the importance of play for his development. From infancy onwards the child makes a variety of contacts with his environment, and develops his sensory and motor responses through play. Play is certainly the most natural and effective means of sense training. In play all the senses are used at once; the child himself learns and grows, not merely a part of him. All that the school needs to do is to provide suitable material and plenty of opportunity.

In the evolution of the nursery school and kindergarden technique, play is therefore coming to be regarded more and more, not as the aimless expenditure of energy, but as the activity which, through the provision of appropriate materials and opportunities, can be directed to the best development and growth of the child. Hence the nature and extent of the play materials provided in institutions for young children offer a real test of their educational programme and of their provision for the mental health of the child. As so much of the child's development depends on the type of equipment furnished him, special attention must be given to the growth needs of the preschool child in the selection of play apparatus and other materials. The play equipment of the school must be such as :

- (a) To furnish right muscular and sensory-motor development.

- (b) To meet genuine play interests.
 - (c) To provide sufficient variety to meet different needs and changes in activity, thus avoiding fatigue and over-strain.
 - (d) To furnish opportunities for creative activity.
 - (e) To fit the stage of development of the children.
- The play material must be durable, hygienic, simple and artistic.

One of the difficult tasks, therefore, of the nursery school is the selection and arrangement of play apparatus and materials in such a way as to bring about the child's best physical and mental development, to effect desirable emotional controls and social adjustments, and to give utmost satisfaction to his genuine play interests. The following is the list of materials and equipment which have been found useful and adaptable to the needs of the nursery school child :

Play material for the development of the large muscles : the jungle gym, together with ladders, slides, boards, steps, boxes and motor vehicles of all kinds.

For the sensori-motor controls and development : special materials, such as blocks, balls, spools, interlocking as well as other types of toys, beads, pegs, books and puzzles of various kinds, to satisfy the child's tendencies to handle, manipulate, experiment and explore.

For the imitative plays of the home : dolls and their accessories, toy animals, trains, bullock bandies, motor cars as well as art mediums (clay and paint).

For plant and animal life : garden, pets and other nature materials, and excursions.

This is not a complete list but only a suggestive enumeration of play materials which have been found useful in meeting the needs of the preschool child. The nursery school room may be equipped with musical instruments, radio, wall clock (cuckoo), round library tables, mats, screens, easels for display of pictures and for the children's painting, pictures for walls, flower bowls and vases, picture books, small boxes and baskets for mate-

rials, small brooms and dust pans, and dusters for children's use.

Activities connected with these play materials may seem mere childish play but they are full of significance not only for the present but also for later development of the child. It is through such natural activities that processes of growth, such as physical development, mental stimulation, social adaptability, emotional controls and behaviour attitudes are promoted and stabilized in the preschool child. Though the natural and best environment for the child up to the age of five is the home and his natural guardian is his mother, yet the home cannot provide all these suitable conditions for his development. Besides, bad housing, over-crowding, unfavourable economic circumstances and the appalling ignorance of the vast majority of Indian mothers make the home an unsuitable place for the young child.

Though the influence of maternity and child welfare centres in instructing mothers in the care of young children is steadily increasing, yet the work is so great and important that it seems imperative to establish nursery schools, particularly in large towns and crowded cities, in order to secure, for part of the day at any rate, a suitable environment for the preschool child. We must not, however, regard the nursery school as a substitute for the home; it is a valuable supplement. The nursery school does not look upon the child as a separate unit; it considers him in his relations to his family, to his friends, to his environment in general, and attempts to determine how he may be helped to a better adjustment in the home, or possibly how his home environment may be better adjusted to fit his needs.

The nursery school in India must therefore work in close co-operation with the home in order not only to give the parent some training in child care but also to safeguard its continuous development. Since the child is primarily a member of the family, parent participation is of vital importance; it is essential that the home and the nursery school should proceed along consistent lines

of training. To this end, the school may offer the following services to the parents :

(1) A parents class may be arranged once a month at night for informal talks on suitable clothing, properly prepared food, home hygiene, behaviour problems, and the like.

(2) Individual parent conferences may also be held between teachers and parents relating to the progress and problems of their children.

(3) Visiting days may be arranged in the nursery school for parents to give them an opportunity to see their children in relation to the rest of the group, and learn better techniques of guiding them at home.

(4) Home visits may be made by the teacher for investigating home conditions and for informal contacts with parents.

Through such close co-operation with the parents of the children, the nursery school can carry the training and education of the preschool child into the home. It may then function not only as an institution for part-time care of young children but also as an effective device for the demonstration of modern techniques for the improvement of parental care. The mother is herself a teacher as well as a parent ; she needs therefore instruction, assistance and encouragement in her educational function just as truly as professional workers with children. Hence the nursery school should help the parent to understand the importance of each aspect of the child's development, and to learn techniques of child guidance.

It should be neither difficult nor expensive to provide a nursery school wherever there is need for one. It may be of interest to the reader to see how easily nursery schools are started and how they function. Here is the story of how the Wyoming Nursery School came into being. It all began some six or seven years ago in casual conversation on sunny street corners, where neighbourhood mothers met with their baby carriages and small children, and paused to compare notes on the problems that confront all mothers of limited means. To provide

recreation for their youngsters, these mothers used to postpone their household work until late afternoon, and take the kiddies out during the bright midday for a little outing. In spite of all the trouble taken, they found that these excursions meant little active play for their children.

As they talked and exchanged ideas, they wondered if they could not find a place where their children of pre-school age could have some of the privileges that really belong to childhood : an outdoor play space, sunny and safe ; companionship ; play materials ; trees, animals, fields and brooks and responsible supervision with enough sympathy to guide their activities. So thinking, they began to read up on the preschool child's needs, and the objectives and methods of nursery school education. They found that the number of nursery schools in the United States had increased by leaps and bounds during the decade. Such an increase seemed to them indicative of a changing attitude towards the learning potentialities of young children, and they wanted to offer their youngsters also the benefit of this early foundation for later life and education.

They could not expect, of course, the State to furnish a small school to help the mothers of that neighbourhood. So they made up their mind that it was possible to solve this problem by organizing a nursery school on a co-operative basis, the mothers taking turns in supervising, and fathers building the equipment, and all of them sharing equally the expenses involved. A Church in the neighbourhood offered them the use of its sunny grounds and Sunday School rooms. They thankfully accepted the offer, and gathered up the twelve children immediately and started the nursery. At the beginning it was little more than "you look after my child and I will look after yours" affair. As agreed, the mothers took turns in supervising and the evolutionary process of the school began. Under the direction of a different mother each time, there was, as might be expected, a noticeable lack of continuity in the programme, and they realized before long that the success of a nursery school depended upon

trained leadership. Fortunately one of their own group had specialized in nursery school education while she was in college. The entire responsibility was now turned over to her, and things went better under her regime.

When the Church built a new parish house the next year, it took the little nursery school under its well-endowed wing and offered sunny, fenced-in space for outdoor play and school rooms for indoor activity. After some four years of evolution, the school attained a high enough standard to conform to recognized requirements of nursery school education. The school now enrolls three groups of fifteen children each; the junior group is made up of two-year olds, the middle group of three-year olds and the kindergarten of five-year olds. Each class has its own rooms, play space and a teacher professionally trained for the job. From October to June the school is in session five days a week from nine to twelve noon.

The day begins with a medical inspection of each child. One of the mothers who is a fully qualified medical woman, makes a quick examination of each child to detect and prevent infection. After medical inspection the little ones come together and spend the first part of their morning in vigorous outdoor play. There are balance boards, a gravel pit, kiddie cars and wagons, packing-case play houses, and big outdoor building blocks. The strong swings and see-saws and blocks the fathers built at the beginning of the school are still in use. The rest of the play materials have been acquired gradually, and through their use the children are becoming daily surer on their feet, adept with their hands, more confident and better poised. And as they grow in comprehension of the physical world around them, they teach each other the fundamentals of getting along with people.

§ It should not be very difficult for parents of an Indian neighbourhood to organize such a co-operative nursery school, and collect gifts of money and the necessary housing equipment; if good schemes are formulated, voluntary service too will be forthcoming. It is no use depending on the State to help us in all these matters.

Women's Clubs and other local societies could easily be persuaded to co-operate with parents to reduce expenses of running such a nursery to a minimum. Fathers can supply play materials such as wooden blocks, see-saws, swings, sand pits, smooth boards, and big packing-box play houses and the like, as they are not great feats of carpentry. With these and an array of wagons, dolls and art materials, which may be contributed by parents and friends, the school is ready for a good start.

A co-operative nursery school is a real school with a definite educational programme, and it cannot succeed unless that programme is administered by a properly qualified person. Along with voluntary workers, there must be at least one trained teacher. Details of apparatus, housing and programme may be simple, but the teacher must be equal to her job. It is no use entrusting the work to some dear old lady who loves children. She may be able to mind a baby or two, but a pack of them would hunt her down. It takes youth and proper training to handle a group of preschool children, and give them work and play of an educative character. Even an experienced young woman needs reliable assistance with physical routine if she is to manage a class of fifteen. Mothers can take turns in helping her in such work.

Slightly different from the above co-operative nursery school is the Relief Nursery School started two years ago in Madras. A Madras Committee launched a scheme to establish a chain of nursery schools in the city areas where they were most needed. As an experiment the first Nursery School was opened on July 15 of the year 1935 in the premises of the Methodist Girls' School in Vepery. The school started with 15 small children ranging from 2 to 4 years of age coming from the neighbourhood, and with the definite purpose of giving relief to working mothers. The children of the school have been selected out of a group of 40, all of whom were eligible and whose parents were anxious to get admission. Every home was visited and careful investigation made into conditions so that only the most needy cases were selected. A small

fee from As. 8 to Rs. 2 is charged for admission, the amount being fixed in accordance with the parent's ability to pay.

School hours are from 9 a.m. to 4 p.m. The first business of the day is health inspection by the health visitor and getting into school garments. This is followed by outdoor play in the sunshine and under the trees, in the sand pit and on the slide and swings. Small buckets, spades, spoons, and miniature cooking utensils of brass and aluminium provide occupation in the sand pit even for the smallest child. About 9.30 the kiddies wander in and have their drink of lime or orange juice with a little Indian cake or biscuits. Then they go in to listen to stories or sing in groups. Some preparation for rhythmic exercises, such as stretching on toes, is being attempted at the suggestion of the doctor, for the correction of flat feet. Free play on the verandah and in the school room with dolls, balls and wheeled toys is followed by washing up and getting ready for the noon meal of rice and curry. After the meal the children lie on their little mats and go to sleep for about an hour.

In the afternoon there is more play followed by a thorough wash with soap and water. At three o'clock there is a bowl of *ragi* or wheat *conjee* with a plentiful supply of good milk. After this meal there is still time for at least half an hour at the swings and slide. One would think that after six or seven hours separation, these little children would rush back to their mothers when they were released from school. But no, some of these youngsters would rather stay and play than go home at 4 o'clock. At the beginning these children would not be parted from their mothers but soon they learnt to come to school happily, help themselves to whatever toys they want from the cupboard, play with them and then put them back in their places. They know their drinking cups, plates, mats, towels and towel racks by the pictures of birds or animals enamelled on them for identification. They are therefore able to manage their own affairs with comparatively little help from their older folk. They

gain so much in self-help and self-control within a brief period of training that mothers themselves are surprised at the rapid transformation of their children.

The Madras Nursery School is fortunate in having a good staff, consisting of one trained health visitor (part time), a well trained Indian kindergarten mistress (part time), a pupil-teacher, and the frequent supervision of two American women teachers. Food is supervised by an Indian member of the Committee. A qualified lady doctor is serving as honorary medical adviser. Though nursery schools have been started here and there in our country, we have not yet begun to give serious consideration to the importance of nursery school education in nation-building. Not only in crowded cities but also in our country villages, there is need for such an agency to spread knowledge of the essential conditions of healthy childhood.

In England, nursery schools are recognized agencies of the Government and receive support from public funds. In other words, they are a part of the educational programme of the State. In many of the countries of Europe, social service is a State activity with the day nursery, creche or similar institution under governmental auspices and financial support. But in India, where the condition of the masses is much worse than in most of the countries of the West, there is absolutely no provision made for the care and training of these poor children. The fact that the Department of Education is not required to establish such schools calls for a determined weight of public opinion in their favour. Meanwhile, since the housing and economic condition of our masses are extremely poor, and literacy among them almost absent, we must not only explore the possibilities of extending the existing services but also put forth private efforts to provide children below the age of five with educational facilities as well as medical supervision.

CHAPTER IV
**CHANGING OBJECTIVES IN INDIAN
SCHOOLS**

A REVIEW OF PROGRESSIVE SCHOOLS

BY

MRS. A. E. HARPER, M. A.

(Moga Training School for Village Teachers, Moga, Punjab.)

Modern India is becoming conscious of the needs of her children. As through the rest of the world, the child's voice, demanding his rights, begging for his happiness, is beginning to be heard. It is said that when a balloonist rises into the sky from a crowd of people, the shouting of strong voices and the music of the band grow dimmer and dimmer in his ears, but some sounds are heard longer. After these have been entirely lost in the upper air, the voices of children still reach him. So, to thinkers of to-day the call of the weakest is the most insistent.

This cry of need is heard and heeded, but often with vagueness, uncertainty and even blundering. Many are not sure what are the rights of the child. Too few have thought clearly what training, what guidance, what teaching will meet his real needs. Mistakes are tragic in this field, yet mistakes are commonly made. Parents, teachers, educators cannot rely on instinct to guide them in meeting the child's educational needs. Tradition is equally unreliable. Growing in India, as elsewhere, is the trend towards reliance on scientific investigation, leading to a thoughtful philosophy of education.

It is inevitable that in the years while the Society for the Protection of Children in Western India was coming of age, conceptions of the part education plays in child welfare, should change. Most of the shift in emphasis, indeed, has come during the last half of the life of this

society. Fifteen years ago, the progressive or experimental schools in all of India could probably be counted on the fingers of one hand. There was very little interest in the "New Education." In the modern sense there was practically no research and experimentation in education. Meetings of teachers' associations seemed largely concerned with matters connected with the economic status of the teacher and little with improvement in teaching method. To-day there is a striking change. Scores of new type schools are being started whose policies are determined, not by tradition, but by thoughtful attention to the educational needs of children in the modern nation. There is an All India organization of the New Education Fellowship, with Sir Rabindranath Tagore as its head, and there are flourishing branches in the Punjab, in the United Provinces, the Central Provinces, and Bengal. India has unquestionably become part of the world movement of progressive education.

New ideals of education are emerging. In this chapter we shall try to trace the origin of some of these ideals and give some examples of their application in a number of modern Indian schools. It is obviously impossible to mention more than a few schools where good work in progressive methods is being done. The schools which have come to the attention of the writer will serve as illustrations of trends in educational experiment. Dissatisfaction with the so-called "system" of education in India has been and is, wide-spread; but much of it leads nowhere. Criticism of the existing forms of education is most effective when it is embodied in examples of better ways. Schools where new objectives of education are emphasized, however partially, are the most effective protest against the blind following of the traditional in the teaching and guidance of children. Most of these schools are struggling private efforts, but in so far as their experiments are attaining worthy results, the state schools tend to follow their lead. After reviewing the main attitudes which have inspired these experiments, we shall show how Indian educators of to-day are gradually build-

ing a new philosophy of education for the new nation, and how this is tending to influence current practice in popular education.

Cultural Revival

The first in point of time, of these changing concepts was probably the desire to make larger use in education of the national culture. The revolt against what seemed to many nationalists a completely alien type of education resulted in the establishment of a number of independent schools. Many of these have lost their early impulse, yielding to the pressure of the popularity of government certificates, and have now the usual curriculum and methods. Outstanding among those institutions which have kept their distinctive quality is the famous Shantiniketan, founded in 1901 by Sir Rabindranath Tagore, and still under the leadership of the great Poet. No institution has done more to show the worth in education of certain elements of Indian culture. Indian music and art, Indian handicrafts, the beauties of the village environment and of simple ideals of living have been emphasized from the beginning. The purpose of Shantiniketan is, however, not to give a narrow nationalistic emphasis, but to develop appreciation of all the cultures of East and West, in order to build world friendship. More will be said later of this famous institution. Here it is sufficient to note that it has helped many teachers to appreciate their own national culture.

The Jamia Millia Islamia of Delhi is another interesting school which developed largely from this motive of emphasizing the indigenous culture. It was started about fifteen years ago by a group of Indian Mussulmans who felt that their "youth were being brought up on ideals destructive of all that was most valuable and enduring in their life and culture." Dr. Zakir Hussain, on the occasion of delivering the welcome address to the All-India Educational Conference at Delhi in 1934 stressed the importance of the Indianization of education. He said in part, "It is essential to put an end to the recruitment of

young men to the ranks of the so-called educated who are blind to the beauties of their own art, deaf to the harmonies of their own music, ashamed of their own language and literature....." He used the city of Delhi as an example of the possibility of Hindu and Muslim working "hand in hand for the creation of cultural values."

An example of a Christian school which teaches appreciation of Indian culture is Ingraham Institute, Ghaziabad. At this school special stress is placed on Indian music. In worship services an orchestra composed of *sitar*, *tabla*, *esraj* and harmonium plays as the congregation assembles and disperses, as well as accompanying congregational singing, when Indian airs are frequently used. All boys learn the rudiments of Indian music, and those who are especially interested and whose work comes up to a certain standard, may also play some instrument. Pictures by Indian artists are used in some of the rooms of the school, and some effort is made to help the boys appreciate them.

Siksha-Sangha, a Christian High School at Bishnupur states : "The Ideal of this school is to conserve the glorious heritage of India and to introduce the things that are best from other countries and among other nations. We believe that culture is one—there cannot be an Eastern or Western culture. We do not want our boys to grow up with a partial view of culture, but that they should take advantage of the finest traditions of the East and the West and grow up men of noble character—strong, steady and pure. In order to help the boys to come up to this high ideal we have, in addition to ordinary class work, various games, folk-dancing and drill, gardening, weaving, hand work, scouting, a social service union, a debating society and a natural history society."

Service to the Handicapped

Another motive for developing new types of schools was the philanthropic motive. This also was a very early impulsion for the improvement of teaching. A number

of voluntary associations were formed, like the Shikshana Prasarak Mandali, Poona (now more than 75 years old) "to give cheap and popular education." The Maharashtra High School, Bombay was opened for the children of mill-labourers. Its head is a Brahman lawyer who gave up a good practice for the sheer love of teaching. Would that India had more such selfless lawyers who would say with Horace Mann, who also relinquished a lucrative law practice, "The next generation is my client." The motive of philanthropic service is also illustrated by another unique institution, the Poona Students' Home, which has since 1909, been working for the educational and health welfare of poor students. Dr. G. S. Khair, in charge of the educational policy of the institution, explains this purpose, "The role of leadership in society is closed to those who are poor, although they have enough intelligence and genius..... The leading aim of the Poona Anath Vidyarthi Griha is to pick up intelligent children wherever available, from unfortunate homes. They are given free shelter and food and an opportunity for as much education as they are capable of..... Some of the alumni of this home have been fortunate in securing higher education in Europe and America." There is hardly space to mention the large number of schools, mainly Christian, established especially to give an opportunity of education to boys and girls of the depressed classes. It is interesting to note that some of the most progressive plans of new curricula and modern methods have come from such schools. This fact has parallels in Europe and America. Madame Montessori developed her theories and practice of freedom and self-directed learning in schools for slum children. Many improvements in teaching methods issued from the self-sacrificing struggles of great educators to teach children handicapped by deafness, blindness, and feeble-mindedness. Much of the best educational work in India is inspired by selfless devotion to the service of the handicapped.

Rural Needs

A third concept more recently influential in the adoption of new objectives is that of the basic importance of the rural population. The traditional type of elementary education is so obviously unfitted for the practical needs of the country boys and girls, that improved village education easily became the first step in educational progress to many educators who were devoted to the service of India. Following the lead of Mr. Gandhi and Sir Rabin-dranath Tagore, rural welfare has absorbed the energies of many patriots, and among the measures for village improvement, a more practical and suitable type of school for village children has a prominent place. That school weans boys away from village life, makes them idle and useless on the farm, is a common complaint of rural parents. Yet the addition of agriculture to the curriculum is not the solution. A more fundamental reconstruction of the school is called for, based on right theories of education. The child is best educated through his own environment. Whether he lives in the city or the village, his growth, intellectual, physical and spiritual, depends upon the educational use of his natural interests. He must learn to understand his environment and to control and improve it. An education based on this principle should not drain away the best ability from the villages, but train its natural leaders.

To illustrate the contributions made by progressive educators in this field, four illustrations will be given of different types of institutions which are fairly typical of the various experiments in the improvement of Indian rural education. Shiksha-Sangha, mentioned above, purposely maintains a close relation to the village. Its Principal, Rev. S. K. Chatterji, believes in the value of simple living, manual work, village industries, and gardening. The boys carry on a simple form of self-government, and undertake and plan various forms of social service in the surrounding villages. Another type of school is a community middle school for Santal boys

and girls at Pakaur, Bihar. It was named Jidato by the older girls—"The Village of Persistent Advance." It has classes from the Kindergarten through class seven. Through the upper primary, it is co-educational. "Up till the time of the organization of Jidato," writes Miss Pierce, the manager, "our Santal girls had attended a Bengali school where both the language and customs were strange to them.....They missed the accustomed freedom of the village.....When school days were over they returned to the freedom of their Santali villages but their training had unfitted them for village life.....The aim of our school might be defined as the endeavour to help our boys and girls to meet life situations. We consider it most important that Jidato boys and girls solve the problems they meet each day and in this way learn to adjust themselves to each new life situation that confronts them." For this purpose they use the village or cottage type of hostel, class-teaching by means of activities or projects, teaching of industrial arts and crafts, and developing a sense of responsibility for sharing what they have received with the people of their own villages.

Still another type of institution designed to meet rural needs is illustrated by the Agricultural Institute at Katpadi, South India. This maintains four well-organized services: the Demonstration Farm, which is a centre where new methods in agriculture, poultry-raising, cattle-breeding, etc., are adapted to local use, and village youth are trained in the betterment of rural life; The Vocational Elementary School in which boys go through the regular curriculum of the Middle Classes, with a special agricultural application, and with practical work on the demonstration farm, and in village crafts; Short Courses which give similar training to adults; and Extension Service including agricultural fairs, and the organization of co-operative societies, etc. There are a number of similar institutions maintained by Christian societies in other parts of India.

The fourth type of experimental rural educational service is typified by the Training School for Vil-

lage Teachers, Moga, Punjab. This school, founded in 1911 for the purpose of training village boys of the depressed classes for leadership among their own people, has carried on experiments over a number of years in the development of an elementary curriculum for village schools, based on modern scientific research. The emphasis of this school upon special training in a rural environment for village teachers, upon a curriculum derived from the natural interests of village life, upon the story and sentence method of teaching vernacular reading, upon "projects", or class-chosen activities as the centre of class teaching—have attracted the attention of Indian educators. Many of these experiments are being carried on in other institutions for the training of village workers. The London Mission Community and Training Schools at Erode have shown excellent results along these lines.

Vocational Need

More recently the ideal of the vocational efficiency of education has emerged in popular thinking. Most of the current criticism of Indian education is based on its failure to prepare students for life. School and college should prepare girls for home-keeping, boys to earn a livelihood. This objective of education which has long influenced educational thinkers has been brought into the limelight by the modern problem of unemployment among graduates and matriculates. It is this difficulty which is at the base of the recent concern of the Government of India and various provincial Departments of Education for educational reconstruction. The Government of India in addressing all local Governments and Administrations inviting their opinions on educational reconstruction, states, "A practical solution of the problem of unemployment can only be found in radical re-adjustment of the present system of schools in such a way that a large number of pupils shall be diverted at the completion of their secondary education either to occupations or to

separate vocational institutions. This will enable universities to improve their standard of admission."

It is too early to predict what reforms will be inaugurated to meet this need for vocational preparation. But it will be useful to note some of the experiments which have been tried by several schools to relate education to the practical needs of the future life of their pupils. Vocational subjects have been introduced into High Schools. Occupations such as weaving, carpentry, printing, pottery are carried on in a number of schools. Among these are the Industrial High School of the Konkan Education Society at Aligarh and the Christian Boys' High School, Kharar, Punjab, which are typical of schools which have successfully combined industrial and literary studies. Anath Vidyarthi Griha, Poona, mentioned above, carries on several self-supporting industries. Ushagram at Asansol, Bengal, has combined vocational training with the High School Curriculum. Each pupil must choose a vocation and pass an examination in it before being allowed to take the University examination. Vocations offered for boys are bookbinding, printing, carpentry, blacksmithy, soap-making, agriculture, cloth-weaving, commercial art, music; for girls, home science, cookery, sewing, painting, music. The ideal of vocational preparation has been more whole-heartedly accepted in the case of girls than of boys. Schools with the aim of the Vidyodaya School of Madras, whose head is Mrs. P. Appaswamy, are found in other parts of the country as well. Its aim is stated thus: "Education should fundamentally be a preparation for life. Vidyodaya has always kept this ideal in view, since its inception in 1924, and has sought in every way to train its pupils to be good home-makers and efficient citizens. Besides the usual school subjects, the girls are taught cooking, painting, music, gardening, laundry, needle-work, nursing and hygiene. The bigger girls assume responsibility in regard to the little ones, take charge of them and see to their well-being as well as to the cleanliness of the dormitories." Another school, Christava Mahilalaya, Alwaye,

Travancore, "prepares for a happy life, with knowledge of household matters and with varied interests, combining Indian culture with that of the West."

Children's Rights

The fifth motive which has inspired educational experiments is the recognition of the child as the centre of educational effort. Parents, disturbed by the difficulties of their own children in schools of the traditional type, desiring well-rounded development for them, and freedom from the tyranny of uninspired teachers have demanded "new" schools. So India has her "child-centred schools". One of the best-established and most interesting of these is the Modern School, New Delhi, started in 1920 by a group of parents for 12 children. The purpose of the management is to study each child individually and provide for each the fullest possible opportunity to develop his own capacities. It is expected that by the end of his school life the student will have had ample opportunity to discover his special aptitude and be ready to choose his vocation wisely. Although the school prepares for the University Matriculation, the Cambridge and other examinations, a determined effort is made not to allow the examination atmosphere to choke the freedom of the teaching. There is an air of happiness, alertness and self-reliance about these children that impresses the visitor. Unusual features are a special attention to nutrition, as two meals are served at the school and a balanced diet is prescribed; educational use of excursions; co-operative work on gardens, grounds, and in cleaning up classrooms, etc.; and emphasis on creative self-expression in art, and writing. The principal of the school, Miss K. Bose, has made several trips to Europe and America to observe progressive schools, and has been in touch with the New Educational Movement from the beginning of her work. Another school which illustrates the demand of parents for education based upon the study of the child's mind and the needs of his nature, and the adaptation to Indian conditions of proven principles of the New

Education, is the New Era School. A glance at the school magazine *Usha* will show the unusual results attained in creative expression through colour painting. This is one of the few schools which mentions educational method in its prospectus. "The fundamental ideas underlying methods such as the Froebel, Montessori, Dalton, Project, etc., are followed with necessary modifications, the principle being to make every child take a genuine interest in the subject taught, and to make him work on his own initiative, according to his individual capacity..... Artificial incentives to work and good behaviour such as marks, numbers, prizes and competitions are replaced as far as possible, by natural interests based on modern psychology. No form of corporal punishment finds a place in the disciplinary measures of the school." This school is co-educational, as is also the Jugal Kishore Happy School, founded in Delhi in 1933, which works on similar principles. The latter school is noteworthy in that it concentrates attention upon young children, maintaining only Montessori and Primary classes. Such schools as the above are influenced and guided by the newest results in the study of child psychology and the mental hygiene movement. Parents who have access to such schools are fortunate indeed.

Learning to Live

There is a growing group of institutions in India, among whom several of the above should be numbered, which are attempting to work out through experimentation a well-rounded philosophy of education. They conceive of the school as a controlled environment in which boys and girls are learning the art of living together. Notable among these is, of course, Santiniketan, which states in its prospectus :

"Training in the use of limbs, development of the spirit of questioning, thinking and observation ; cultivation of interest and enjoyment in trees, birds and beasts and the varied phenomena of nature ; experience in the making of articles of daily use ; habit of keeping one's living room

and surroundings clean, healthy and beautiful, practice of cleanliness extending to the body dress and personal behaviour through adequate observance of bath, wholesome discipline in eating, physical exercise and rest and careful maintenance of bodily and mental strength—these are essential to the life of this Asrama

“Experience in helping others in distress and readiness to serve neighbours in every way, many-sided knowledge about one’s own country and development of proper responsibility towards it, proper regard and love for peoples of other countries and unfoldment of sense of kinship, of justice, of respectful regard for them in thought, in deed and in word, keeping up-to-date information about various social service organisations and new cultural experiments in other countries. In short, the aim of our education is that students should in the fullest sense be true to their humanity, and in their thoughts, feelings and behaviour express this truth ”

Significant innovations may also be observed in the education of the ruling classes, which is usually carried out in residential schools. It is seen by leading educationists that there is need for broadening the base of such education in order that all those fit for leadership in social and political life may have the requisite training. The purpose sponsored by Mr S R Das to establish a Public School for Indian boys has been realised. The Doon School at Dehra Dun, U P, has made a start along most interesting and progressive lines. Several of the Chiefs’ Colleges have attempted to run on more democratic lines. Aitchison College, Lahore, has succeeded well in this. Rajkumar College, Raipur, C P, is making a determined effort to introduce improved methods of teaching. The Scindia School, Gwalior, is experimenting with an entirely new curriculum in the Middle classes. This curriculum will be referred to again.

An interesting experiment in corporate living is being carried out by Vidya Bhawan, Udaipur. Each year the entire school moves for about a fortnight to some place of natural beauty and carries on school work in an open

air Session. There the children come into contact with natural phenomena and are thrilled by experiences which prompt artistic expression. By living together in such a healthy and stimulating environment, teachers and pupils build up a corporate life and learn the skills of co-operation. It may be said here that the educational ideals of the Boy Scouts, Girl Guides, and the various similar indigenous movements should be more widely applied within the curriculum of the schools. It is unfortunate that so many schools are content to allow the real education of their pupils to be carried on through extra-curricular activities, while the precious school time is being wasted on traditional exercises far removed from the life-problems of the pupils and of the society in which they live. Encouraging results have been secured by the use of the "house system" in the Christian Boys' High School, Kharar, Punjab, and in the Community School, Erode, already mentioned.

Self-Reliance and Self-help

The school just mentioned, Vidya Bhawan, though a day-school, has from the beginning insisted upon its pupils spending the whole of their day in school. Wishing to promote in them a sense of the dignity of labour, a "labour unit scheme" has been developed. Just as the pupil has to complete a certain number of units of academic work for promotion, so he must complete a fixed quota of physical labour. This concept of the educational value of participation in productive labour is particularly hard to promote in India. A number of schools have given major emphasis to breaking down the social distinctions attached to various kinds of labour, and to building character through creative sharing in work. Thus the prospectus of the Pasumalai High and Training Schools (Madura, S. I.) states, "We believe in work ; we believe in the dignity of labour. Outside the class poor boys are given opportunity to earn part of their own expenses through encouragement given by the management which has organized Self-help Allies... There is also scope for

pupils to learn a few useful hobbies in the manual training school where we teach carving, inlaid work, fret-work, mat-weaving, basket-making, string-work, book-binding, and globe-making."

Perhaps the most thorough-going experiment in developing a new type of school-life especially adapted to India is found in the school named Ushagram, "Village of the New Day," at Asansol, Bengal.

This is a co-educational institution, in which boys and girls study together through the first five years, and then separate into a Boys High School and a Girls High School in buildings about 200 yards apart. This school community contains about 600 pupils, of whom about 150 are in residence. It is distinguished by very successful student government, by many co-operative activities as already mentioned, by vocational training combined with the regular curriculum of an English High School. The special development which interests us here is the establishment of improved village homes as the living quarters for the boarding department. The colony is built in the form of a village on a campus of fifty-two acres. Pupils have helped to build their own cottages, and are interested in the improvements effected in the usual type of mud, village house. A great deal has been done to improve village sanitation by means of cheap, septic tanks. All improvements are kept within the scope of possibilities for the average village. The boys' and girls' villages are separate but near together. The pupils live as families, and the concentrated effort in school and hostel learning is the growth of worthy home life. Character is built through intelligent sharing in home duties and village improvement. Naturally, also, this school is engaged in social service activities for the help of the neighbourhood in which it is situated. Of these it is impossible to tell in this brief space.

Another school which emphasizes self-help as fundamental in character-building is the Moga Training School for Village Teachers, which has just celebrated its twenty-fifth anniversary. At the beginning it was almost

alone in its belief in the educational value of manual labour. It was called in derision "the basket-carriers' school." Founded for poor Christian boys from the depressed classes, it now includes a large proportion of pupils of all castes and communities who desire this type of education. Self-reliance is built by means of a plan of self-help, by which pupils earn money through productive occupations, and learn how to spend it, with the guidance of their teachers. They pay school fees graduated according to their ability to earn. These boys also live in "families" and are gradually building a "model village," and they attend to all the work necessary for family and school life. No cooks, water-carriers or sweepers are employed. The work through which fees are earned is farm labour, raising vegetables and poultry, and village hand-crafts. Many of the graduates who have been trained as teachers in this school consider this training in self-reliance as the greatest gift Moga has given to them. Another emphasis of the school appreciated by its pupils is the absence of any distinction of caste or class.

At Ingraham Institute, Ghaziabad, U. P., self-help forms the corner stone of the whole institution. Financially, the Christian boys who attend the school must have help, so they work to earn money to supplement the slender contribution their families can make to the school. Since education in India has too often meant scorn of manual labour, and of those who must work, all boys in Ingraham Institute learn by experience that government examinations and work with the hands are not incompatible. Everyone from the principal down to the smallest boy proclaims by example the gospel of the dignity of manual labour.

Not only through earning money to take care of their own needs do the boys learn to depend on themselves. In every line of the varied school activities, responsibilities are given to the boys. Students care for the flock of pure bred White Leghorns, for the fine milk buffalo, and have responsibility for the marketing of some of the school garden produce. They keep accounts, collect bills

and check up on profit or loss. Older boys are in charge of various school stores and with adult help plan meals for the school. Each hostel has its own panchayat to manage hostel discipline. Groups of boys organize programs to be given in neighbouring villages, and carry out systematic work in the villages throughout the year. Every opportunity is watched so that the boys can learn by actual experience in life situations to depend on themselves in planning and carrying out work.

New Concepts of Curriculum and Methods

Many changes in curriculum and methods of teaching have been mentioned in the pages preceding. There are a number of institutions, however, which should be mentioned again because they are making a sustained effort to develop new school curricula for India and to experiment with new methods. A curriculum of studies for middle classes which is a complete departure from the traditional curriculum in Indian schools is being tried out by Mr. F. C. Pearse, Principal of the Scindia School, Gwalior. In this scheme of studies a centre of interest or general topic is chosen for each class, and the whole is developed to meet the needs of an Indian boy in both his personal and social relations. It would seem that a pupil following this syllabus would have a far clearer notion of the meaning and bearing of the mathematical, historical, geographical, or literary knowledge which he is acquiring than one who merely covers these subjects of study in order to pass the examination. It is hoped that other schools may follow out this suggestive syllabus which has been published in the *Indian Educational Journal*.

The leaders of the Poona Anath Vidyarthi Griha are attempting to develop a new curriculum to meet the needs of the pupils and of modern Indian society. Dr. G. S. Khair, who has recently returned from extensive study in Europe and America, says, "In India our educators have not become sufficiently conscious of their needs in education. The majority of the schools are blindly fol-

lowing the discarded models of the West, while some of them are borrowing her new patterns without fully appreciating the implications and meaning of the techniques they are using...It has not been possible (in the Griha) to make any revolutionary changes since the Matriculation examination spreads its influence over the secondary school curriculum. With this restriction, possible reforms have been attempted. More emphasis has been placed on the study of the mother tongue and Indian literature, the cultural aspects of India's history, religious education, general reading, physical education, and the introduction of manual and industrial work in the High School programme."

A few schools are experimenting with better methods in the primary and middle classes. Jammia Millia Islamia states that "An essential feature of our method of instruction is the project method." The London Mission Community and Training Schools, Erode, have also been carrying on experimentation for a number of years in the adaptation of the Project method. The Modern School, Delhi, the New Era School, Bombay, Vidya Bhawan, Udaipur, the Jugal Kishore Happy School, Delhi, all are adapting Montessori, Dalton, activity methods, etc., to Indian school conditions. The school at Moga is well known for its advocacy of the activity programme, especially for elementary schools. Moga has had about fourteen years of continuous and thorough-going experimentation in adapting to vernacular teaching the results of scientific investigation in teaching method. An elementary curriculum is being evolved which succeeds in enlisting pupils' whole-hearted interest, developing their power to think, plan and judge results, in relating their learning practically to the improvement of their own environment, and in developing the skills of working together. Each class chooses its centre of interest for the year or shorter period and much of the class work grows out of the enterprise or "project." A special success of Moga has been improvement in teaching the fundamental "tools of learning," especially reading. By efficient

method a great deal of time is saved for the free and happy activities which produce such excellent results in character-building and mental power.

Research

Interest in educational research is new in India. But it is encouraging to note that a number of the Government Training Colleges are making scientific investigations of great value to teachers. Dacca is one of these training centres which comes to mind. In the Training College at Patna, a Primary Education Section has been organized which is developing a new curriculum for rural schools. A number of colleges are making studies of Child Psychology. The Forman Christian College (Lahore) Psychology Department have organized a Child Guidance Clinic, much appreciated by parents. The Pasumalai Training School has a Department of Research which is investigating particularly the use of the Individual Method, as well as publishing books of use to teachers. Several new educational psychologies in Indian languages have recently appeared, written by Professors of Psychology in Indian colleges.

So far as we know, only one of the institutions mentioned in this chapter has adopted research as a principal aim. In the five years since its establishment as a "centre for educational research and experiment," Vidya Bhawan has carried on a psychological laboratory for the study of individual children, and has made investigations and experiments relating to the examination system, the Dalton method and the project method. Educational research is still in its infancy in India and commands very little respect and support from educational authorities and parents.

The Schools of the People

Ultimately the test of progressive educational thinking and experiment is its application in the common schools. We cannot be content to provide true education for the favoured classes and allow the bulk of the citizenship of

the nation to be stunted by ineffective and repressive teaching. Dr. John Dewey has said : "What the best and wisest parents desire for their children that must the state provide for all." The new ideals must penetrate to the vast number of ordinary primary schools of the cities and villages. A few of the "New Education" institutions have taken this as their chief purpose. The results of long effort of the Moga School have recently been very heartening. This institution has been greatly encouraged by the Education Department, Punjab, who have adopted many of its methods for training rural teachers in new methods. Within the last two years a determined effort has been made to introduce improved primary methods, including the Moga Method of teaching reading, and the activity programme for primary classes, into the village schools of the Province. With this in view Moga was asked to hold five or six Refresher Courses averaging two months each, first for inspecting officers, then for large numbers of teachers from the District Board Primary schools. As a result a number of village schools have been quite transformed, while a great many show small but significant improvements.

Independent of any experimental institution, there are a number of significant efforts to reconstruct the curriculum of rural education and to train teachers to carry it out. It is impossible within the limits of this chapter even to outline these plans. Mr. Leonard D. G. D'Sylva, Inspector of Schools, Chattisgarh Circle, Raipur, C. P., has inaugurated an experimental syllabus of studies for rural primary schools, which has proven itself both progressive and practicable. This syllabus was put into the hands of selected teachers and tried in six schools in 1932-33. The trial was extended to 36 schools in 1933-34. The third edition of the syllabus has now been issued. It is revised annually at a special conference of those actively engaged in guiding the teachers who are using it. The innovations of this syllabus have two leading objectives, training for citizenship and efficiency in teaching the "tool subjects" or the "Three R's." The new

syllabus in language and in arithmetic is based upon scientific investigations and standardized tests. Notable contributions to educational measurement and scientific improvement of method have been made by two educationists in this region. The Rev. J. C. Koenig, M.A., who made a study of the vocabulary of Hindi Readers, has produced a Vocabulary of 4000 Most Common Hindi Words and has adapted the Moga Readers to Hindi; and the Rev. E. W. Menzel, M.A., who has worked out scientifically standardized Tests of Reading Ability, has made extensive studies of the teaching of arithmetic in Indian schools, and devised helpful improvements in teaching method and standardized tests for arithmetic.

Mention has been made of the Patna Training College where special attention is being paid to the problems of rural and primary education. The Director of Public Instruction of Bihar and Orissa, Mr. H. Dippie, has made a special study of teaching methods used in village schools, and is making a determined effort to change attitudes of village teachers. His article on the subject in "Instruction in Indian Primary Schools" is full of most interesting and helpful suggestions. This Department of Education is issuing an up-to-date, improved curriculum. So far as we know, this is the only school syllabus in India which contains not only detailed syllabi for all the subjects to be taught, but full directions to the teachers on the methods to be used.

Suggested Objectives for Indian Schools

The ideals and practices recorded in this long but necessarily incomplete catalogue of progressive efforts indicate distinct trends. In summary it may be worth while to suggest roughly the outlines of a working philosophy of education which may be derived from these experiments. It is hoped that all who love children and desire their welfare will join hands with those who are working for these ideals.

Judging from these experiments, then, the school of

the future in India should strive toward the following goals :

(1) To base curriculum and methods of teaching, so far as possible, upon the results of scientific research and experiment.

(2) To give the best in education to all, according to their capacities, without distinction of race, caste or religion.

(3) To develop a curriculum derived from the interests of childhood, helping both urban and rural pupils to interpret and utilize their natural and social environment.

(4) To lead pupils to appreciate their own national heritage and to welcome the unique contribution of other national groups to world culture.

(5) To give training for citizenship, by making schools centres of co-operative effort where children learn the art of living together and working together for common purposes.

(6) To teach by means of the purposeful activities of children, using natural incentives in place of punishment.

(7) To give a thorough command of the fundamental processes, especially the use of the mother tongue and practical arithmetic.

(8) To develop the power of thinking.

(9) To study to understand each individual and help him to develop his abilities and aptitudes to the fullest extent.

(10) To develop character by means of productive labour, teaching thereby self-respect and self-reliance. To overcome in parents and pupils the idea that manual and mechanical work is degrading.

(11) To help each pupil to choose the vocation through which he can be most useful to society.

(12) To stimulate free, creative activity in art, music and literature and initiative and originality in all fields.

(13) To conserve and improve the health of pupils.

(14) To train both boys and girls for worthy home life.

Such objectives can best be attained, in the opinion of the writer, in a school controlled and informed by reli-

gion. The subject of religious instruction has not been taken up in the above analysis of progressive education in India, as it is too large a topic to discuss in these brief limits. Some schools have declared against religious instruction of the formal and sectarian type. But we believe there is a strong conviction among Indian educators and parents that education without religion is a contradiction in terms. Therefore it seems to us that creative, dynamic religious education should produce the best atmosphere in which the above aims of the schools will be realized.

CHAPTER V

BEHAVIOUR PROBLEMS OF CHILDHOOD

BY

K. R. MASANI, M. R. C. S. ENG., L. R. C. P. LOND., D. P. M.

(Lecturer in Psychiatry, The Sir Dorabji Tata Graduate School of Social Work, Bombay.)

Misbehaviour on the part of their young ones has always been a source of great worry and grief to a large number of parents. Every family has its problems from time to time, in connection with the conduct of the children belonging to it and practically all parents confronted with such difficulties solve the problems according to their ideas and capacities, with varying degrees of success. In quite a large number of cases the parents are able to deal with the situation effectively, at least as far as putting a stop to the difficult behaviour itself; and even if no effort is made to modify the undesirable behaviour, as happens on rare occasions, it is found that the child frequently gets over it on his own.

Thus every child may be regarded as exhibiting behaviour problems, using the words in their usual every day sense. When, however, the interference of parents is powerless, and the undesirable behaviour persists for any length of time, the child showing such behaviour is termed a "problem child" and he is described as exhibiting a Behaviour Problem or a Behaviour Disorder. The term as thus used specifically excludes a good many deviations in behaviour which would be regarded as problems in the ordinary way. In general, difficult behaviour may be divided into two categories according as to whether the behaviour is directly and essentially anti-social or not; and the term Behaviour Problem is confined to the former type of behaviour only. Based as is our conception of Behaviour Disorder on the factor of its

being directly anti-social or not, it follows that forms of conduct regarded as behaviour problems by parents of one social group are not necessarily so regarded by those belonging to another. Let us take for example the case of the eight year old son of a bandit father, living with others a life of brigandry. He notices on the sly that his young friend, also the son of a brigand, has deposited some money in a place where it is thought to be safe and secure. The youngster promptly goes and gets hold of the money, using all the cunning resources at his command to avert suspicion from himself. He continues this type of behaviour now and again. In this case it is exceedingly unlikely that his parents would regard the child as exhibiting a Behaviour Disorder. On the other hand you can well imagine the pride with which he would be regarded by an appreciative father. It is quite likely that on hearing of his young son's prowess in this field the father would drink to the youngster's health and to the execution of even more worth while jobs in the future.

It will be agreed by all that here the child would certainly not be regarded as presenting a problem to his parents. But apart from this extreme instance, you will readily appreciate that it is not possible to make use of the term, Behaviour Problem, without reference to the standards and codes of the social group to which the child belongs. If we as members of an organised society, with our concepts of right and wrong, attempt to picture the forms of behaviour which constitute problems for parents and others, it becomes apparent that the number of behaviour deviations is a large one; in fact children do show all kinds of such conduct, varying from petty acts of anti-social behaviour to acts of gross criminality. There is little to be gained by tabulating here the various Behaviour Disorders and of regarding them as quite separate from Personality and Habit Disorders; a child more often than not presents more than one of these deviations, and attempts should be made not merely to understand each individual deviation as a separate entity but rather to study the child's total personality. It might

help, though, to focus our attention better on the subject if we remind ourselves of the common Behaviour Problems. These include stealing, sex offence, lying, truancy, wandering away from home, vagrancy, bullying, acts of violence, and acts of wanton destructiveness. These are the forms of behaviour which often confront parents and teachers and these are also social sins as defined by law. But there are, in addition, other modes of behaviour of every day family life such as the repeated exhibition of violent temper, stubbornness, defiance, obstinacy, and spitefulness, which though not regarded by the law as anti-social and punishable, contribute as much, if not more, to the production of unhappiness and distress as the former class.

Although attempts at understanding and dealing with difficult behaviour have engaged our attention for centuries, it is only of very recent years that organised and scientific methods of tackling the problem have been employed, culminating in the establishment of Child Guidance Clinics in different parts of the world. The Child Guidance Clinic is the outcome of an attempt to bring together the various resources of the community with a view to applying scientific methods to the study and treatment of problem children. It serves the needs of children of average intelligence, suffering from all kinds of habit, personality and behaviour disorders.

Perhaps nowhere more than in this field of endeavour do the results depend upon the success or failure of unearthing the causes responsible for creating the problem. Indeed so important and often so difficult is the task of ascertaining these causes that it happens quite frequently that months of work by a team of experts and more rarely even a year or two are spent in unearthing these causes. When the fundamental causes are clearly understood, and through the insight gained, suitable treatment is instituted, the difficult behaviour ceases or abates in a strikingly short time.

The main task of the Child Guidance Clinic may be described as the co-ordination of the efforts of the differ-

ent members of the staff in the study of the causes of the difficult behaviour. Let us look at some of the types of problems that are brought to the clinics by parents and others responsible for the upbringing of children.

Peter, aged six, is troublesome and difficult to manage. He takes things that do not belong to him and he tells lies. He is given to excessive nail-biting.

Eileen, aged eleven, is reported to be a bully. She is spiteful, hits younger children and flies into tantrums from time to time. Often she plays truant from school.

Norah, aged nine, is so shy that she will never talk to a stranger. She is moody and sits for hours, doing nothing. She bites her nails and is given to masturbation.

Cyril, aged seven, wets his bed nightly; he breaks things frequently and at times behaves violently for no apparent reason. He sulks for hours and is afraid of the dark.

Henry, aged nine, has stolen watches for the last four years, whenever he could lay his hands on one. He has spells of moodiness and depression.

Thus it is seen that in working with children one comes across combinations of the different deviations in the same child and in studying the causes of maladjustment, as mentioned earlier, it is always the total personality of the child and not his individual deviations on which one's attention is focussed. Any rigid classification of the behaviour difficulties would be artificial and misleading. However, it is found convenient to group the problems into four categories :

1. Personality Disorders, such as moodiness, depression, shyness, seclusiveness, day-dreaming, lack of concentration, nervousness.
2. Behaviour Disorders, such as stealing, lying, sex offences, running away from home, bullying, temper tantrums, aggressiveness and violence to others.
3. Habit Disorders, such as bed wetting, nail-biting, masturbation, skin-picking, fidgeting, stammering.
4. Intellectual difficulties, such as general backward-

ness at school, or backwardness in special subjects, e.g., arithmetic

Once more it must be emphasised that it is unusual to find a child brought to the clinic for a single difficulty. For example, one of the first cases that I came across, on my return home to India, was a young boy from the Punjab, aged eleven, who had run away from his home at Delhi, arriving in Bombay by smuggling himself in the ladies' compartment. He stole a large sum of money on two occasions and was given to lying. He had spells of depression and it was difficult at times to persuade him to take his meals. It will thus be seen that the difficulties for which the children are referred are very often the ones which are found commonly everywhere, and it would be exceptional indeed to find a child who does not exhibit at least one or two of the deviations mentioned above.

It is true that a large number of children who show some of the above mentioned difficulties get over their troubles by themselves and that in some of the cases the parents or teachers are able to bring about an improvement. One may wonder therefore, if it is necessary to have a Child Guidance Clinic at all. The answer is simple. The children who are brought to the clinics are the ones whose behaviour, parents and teachers, magistrates and doctors, have attempted to alter for months and sometimes for years without success. The history usually obtained is that the difficulties in behaviour, for which the child is brought to the clinic, have been gradually getting worse in spite of the repeated efforts of parents and others to check them. Such individuals, responsible for the management and care of children, generally bring their difficult youngsters to the Child Guidance Clinic after a period of some years, which may be regarded as experimental. This fact alone indicates that the Child Guidance Clinic meets a real need felt by parents and others such as teachers, magistrates, doctors and institution matrons who come in contact with difficult children. Here is the best possible answer to the question whether it is necessary to have a clinic.

The question may well be asked why the Child Guidance Clinic so often succeeds with children who have been given up as incurable by parents and others. I suggest that this is mainly so, because the individual parents or teachers, however capable they may be, have not the facilities for applying to the study of the causation of behaviour that degree of detailed and scientific investigation which the clinic staff have at their disposal through being an organised team of specially trained workers.

A fundamental query which has presented itself to human beings for centuries, is "Why does a child behave in unwholesome ways?" All sorts of theories have been advanced to explain the causation, and inaccurate generalisations have been forwarded from time to time. It is true that some success was achieved in the understanding of the problem in the early part of this century when education broke away from the tradition of regarding a child as a piece of raw material to be moulded into a conventional being; but real progress was held up because all the efforts to understand the causes of misbehaviour were confined to an examination of the child's conscious mind only.

It happens often, that the results of patient research in one set of problems enrich in quite an unexpected manner our understanding of another set apparently unconnected with the first. The genius of Freud was applied to gaining an insight into the obscure psychological causes which bring about the symptoms of neurotic illness in adult patients, at a time when the behaviour disorders and anti-social acts of children were very little, if at all, suspected to be related to such symptoms. Freud demonstrated in striking fashion, the cardinal role of unconscious mental processes in the production of neurotic illness and showed also how impulses which lay buried in the depths of the mind of which the individual himself was not at all conscious, exerted their influence often in a very subtle way upon his character and conduct as well. The symptom was found to have meaning for each individual

in the sense that it represented a substitute gratification, no doubt of a distorted kind, for impulses which were kept out of consciousness and barred direct expression. It is the carrying over into the field of child psychology of this fundamental concept of unconscious mental processes and their vital influence upon conscious thought and behaviour that has vastly enriched our understanding of the causation of behaviour problems in children. This application of the basic concept has shown that the child's mental growth is an exceedingly complicated process and to understand his behaviour requires not only a very patient and thorough understanding of the conscious elements of his mind but also an examination of unconscious impulses and fears—that is, impulses and fears of which the child himself is not aware and which are not accessible to the observer in the ordinary way.

With these few remarks, let us revert to our question : "What is the cause of behaviour disorders and why is it that parents and others often fail when the clinic succeeds?" The answer is that a given behaviour disorder is the outcome of mental conflicts involving impulses which are unconscious, that is, impulses of which the child himself is unaware. The undesirable act of behaviour is the distorted outcome of such impulses as are denied direct expression, and it provides the individual with a substitute gratification ; the child, however, does not realise this. One can thus see that all efforts at eradicating undesirable behaviour, when attention was confined to conscious processes only, were bound to fail in bringing about a lasting cure. It also becomes apparent why parents and others not equipped with the specialised training of discerning unconscious mental processes are powerless to modify the behaviour, based as such behaviour is on impulses buried deeply in the mind and inaccessible to observation in the ordinary way. We see also why the child anxious as he often is to end the deviated behaviour, is powerless to do so.

You must not, however, get the impression that in the case of every child problem it is necessary to explore

thoroughly his unconscious mind before anything in the nature of cessation of undesirable behaviour can take place. Universal as is the relation between unconscious impulses and overt behaviour, it would be a great mistake to believe that this relation is of paramount importance in the case of absolutely every child showing deviated behaviour. Gross physical disorders, and less obtrusive disturbances of physiological functions may be predominantly responsible in rare cases in bringing about such distorted behaviour. Consider for example, the disease *Encephalitis Lethargica*. One of the most striking manifestations of this malady is the appearance, some time after an acute attack, of delinquency in children who previously showed not the slightest inclination to anti-social behaviour. Or again, take the case of a child with an unduly low content of sugar in his blood. Such a child often has an exaggerated craving for eating sweet things in one form or another due to his physiological peculiarity. The craving may be so strong that he may pilfer sweets from a store, or those belonging to other children; or again he may steal small sums of money so as to be able to buy sweet things for himself. He will tell lies to cover up his thefts. Allowing such a child a larger daily ration of sugar in his diet, or letting him have more sugar in the form of sweets or candies often puts an end to his stealing. Here it would be unnecessary to subject the child to a deep exploration of his unconscious phantasies.

Then, again, some of the children brought to the clinic for difficult behaviour have an environment so strikingly unhealthy that the efforts of the clinic directed primarily to modifying such environment, often result in an immediate cessation of the difficulties in question. Although generalisations should be avoided, it may be stated that all problem-children may be regarded as mal-adjusted to their environment. As the environment consists of the home life, parents, brothers and sisters, grandparents, and other relatives; the school life and companions, and all individuals with whom the child comes into contact, it is only fair to the child that care should

be taken to ascertain whether the individuals forming the environment are not contributing largely to the child's disordered behaviour by themselves behaving in ways either grossly injurious, or harmful in more obscure ways.

Since parents are the individuals who form the most important part of a child's environment, quite a large amount of attention is paid by the Child Guidance Clinic staff to ascertaining the desirability or undesirability of the behaviour exhibited by the parents in relation to their children. I do not think it would be an exaggeration to say, that from the very nature of the question, the most important individual factor making for healthy emotional growth is the factor of the soundness or otherwise of the parent-child relationship. Hence this relationship receives very careful scrutiny from both the social worker and the psychiatrist. It is quite exceptional to find the behaviour of the parents not presenting something at least that is undesirable or unhealthy. Quite a large element in the treatment in the Child Guidance Clinic is therefore directed towards the parents, through their education on the intellectual side in the principles of child management as well as through attempts to make their own emotional lives more satisfactory.

One must not, however, get the impression that the parents are to be blamed for usually contributing the largest share to the causation of ill health and misdeeds of their children. To do so would be futile and unfair. There are inherent difficulties of mental adjustments in the child's own personality to be considered also; for example, his unconscious sense of guilt may make him behave anti-socially and seek punishment even though the parental upbringing be well nigh perfect. Besides, if we adopt the attitude that all misdeeds of children are due to faulty upbringing by parents, we minimise the importance of the individual and dynamic quality of the child's own personality and we tend to regard him as a bit of plastic material to be moulded into whatever shape one pleases. Moreover if parents are made to feel that

they are doing something wrong all the while and that they are thus making the child anti-social or nervous, they may become so nervous themselves that they fear to exert any parental influence at all and even become incapable of doing so. The effect in the long run would then be to make matters worse. Regarding the question of parental influence, then, there is clearly no room for blame; rather there is all the need in the world for a deeper understanding of the problems involved.

One seldom sets out to undertake anything new in life without prior preparation and yet in the matter of marriage and the upbringing of children one seldom makes any preparation at all. One of the most important functions of a Child Guidance Clinic is to make good this deficiency in preparation and it is here that the social worker is most useful as she helps the psychiatrist by repeatedly making sure that the parents are doing their bit by gradually modifying the undesirable attitudes that appear to be contributing to the child's difficulties. It is impossible in this short paper to give you an adequate account of even some of the most common defects in the parent-child relationship. Attitudes of over-indulgence, excessive harshness, partiality and favouritism, over-protection, neglect—to mention a few only—are easy to picture as harmful to the child's development and growth. But other attitudes not so apparently undesirable are also productive of ill-health and behaviour difficulties.

We must consider first our general attitude towards the upbringing of the child. Do we regard the young child as a growing organism reacting in an individual way to the various influences of his environment; or do we have a fixed idea of how he should behave and a preconceived notion of what we wish him to be like. It is evident that we should give ample scope for the potentialities of each individual child to develop unhampered and not mould him into a fixed type of conventional being according to our own ideas and desires. What we should do here is to try to understand our own emotional attitudes and to eliminate the faulty ones as far as possible,

our biases and prejudices, our fears and unwholesome ambitions. This is by no means easy and requires a good deal of genuine humility. There are parents who seek satisfaction in the lives of their children. They judge the child's conduct and behaviour according to adult standards; once having made up their minds as to what they would like the child to be, his success in life is measured according to the degree that these ideals are satisfied. Closely related to this tendency is the attitude of overdomination which some parents find so hard to modify. This may take the form of not allowing the child to develop any independence or initiative. Everything that the child does has to be done in a particular way—"the right way"—and the "right way" generally happens to be what the parents consider to be right according to their own ideas.

Many parents give an impression of being thoroughly uninterested and bored in their children and of lacking totally in showing any courtesy towards them. This lack of interest on the part of the parents is often felt very acutely by the children. I was walking along one of the roads at Matheran, recently, when I saw a young man of about 35, strolling along in the same direction as myself, accompanied by a boy of about five or six. All of a sudden a pony appeared along a bend in the road from the opposite direction. When it came nearly in line with the couple the youngster noticed it; he turned round, following the pony with his eyes, and spoke to his father with great animation and excitement—"Look, Daddy, look, my pony, the pony I rode this morning—look—." What did the father do? He paused for a second, hardly did he turn his head; "Come on", said he, in a tone of voice expressing great irritation; thoroughly bored he seemed, and quite peeved; he took hold of the youngster's hand roughly, violently pulled it, and dragged the lingering child away.

Another attitude encountered quite frequently is one of inconsistency in exerting discipline. The child needs to know what to expect from an adult when he behaves

in some anti-social way. Often the mother when she is in a good mood, will impose no punishment for a given piece of mischief; she may actually comment on the child's "cuteness" or cleverness to others in the child's hearing; whereas a similar offence or one of lesser degree when she is in bad humour receives a severe punishment in the form of scolding or spanking. It is not to be wondered at if the child is left guessing as to whether the particular act of mischief is looked upon with favour or disfavour.

I have mentioned just a very few of the parental attitudes which contribute to misconduct or neurotic illness, and I must pass over a good many more which influence the mental health of the child; but before leaving this question, some words need to be said about a form of parental behaviour, of paramount importance, which is related to one of the most fundamental needs of the child, namely, his need for security. This need can only be satisfied if the child feels that both his parents love him. But if such love is an absolute condition for his security, of no less vital importance is harmony between his parents. It is universally recognised and admitted by all, that one of the chief sources of juvenile delinquency or mental ill-health is the home broken up by discord between the parents. No less disruptive, nor less harmful, is the home where parents live together in open contention. Moreover, even when the parents think that they are successfully concealing their differences and conflicts so as not to worry their young children, it is found that the young child senses these disharmonies even though he may not yet have learned to give verbal expression to the anxieties caused by such conflicts. Thus what matters more than anything else is the healthiness, or its opposite, of the triangular relationship between the child, the father and the mother, and not just the relationship of the child with each parent separately. The child's healthy growth is considerably helped by observing the genuine love and friendliness of each parent towards himself. If the child perceives that there

is an undue amount of hostility between his father and his mother it is difficult for him to look forward to the founding of a home of his own one day ; whereas the experience of a home where love and harmony prevail tends to make the child desire to produce an equally congenial one for himself. The child himself is oppressed by his own aggression and jealousy, his selfishness, and inconsiderateness, and it helps him greatly in overcoming these disturbing elements in himself, if he can see that the behaviour of his parents towards each other is characterised by friendliness and mutual loyalty, considerateness and unselfishness. In this connection the details of their habitual every day behaviour : the way they speak to each other, look at each other ; whether they act selfishly or unselfishly, considerately or inconsiderately—all these details, are of paramount importance. No ideal that they may paint for the child, however glowing the colours, no exhortations towards good behaviour that they may make, through appeals to love or threats of punishments will exert anything approaching the influence of their own day-to-day living.

Let us now turn our attention to the kind of contact made with the child at the clinic, in treating him for his undesirable behaviour. The essence of clinic treatment lies in the persistent, patient and exhaustive study of the child himself with a view to determining the causes, deep and superficial, that have contributed to the misbehaviour. The contacts formed between the child and the staff of the clinic during such investigations materially help the child. The fact that the young child finds somebody who does not judge him according to adult standards, as he has been judged so far ; who does not blame him nor make persistent superficial efforts to modify his behaviour, but who tries to understand him and looks upon his problems in the same way that he himself does : who tries to help him on a basis of camaraderie and equality—all this—lessens considerably his anxiety and sense of oppression and this in turn helps a good deal in modifying his anti-social behaviour. It is impossible to

sketch adequately in a few words, how the clinic staff sets about the problem of ascertaining the nature of such processes in a given child with a particular form of behaviour disorder, and I can do no more than say that patient contact with a child extending over weeks, or months, and at times even years, enables the specially trained worker to infer the nature of the unconscious impulses and conflict causing the difficulty. In doing so the worker has to modify the methods which he uses with adults to meet the needs of each individual child. The most important modification is the substitution of the observation of the child's play, in place of attempts based on verbal contact, as with adults. To put the matter in a very simple form it may be said that children often reveal in their play the unconscious urges, conflicts and phantasies which produce their behaviour difficulties. Such expression of fundamental impulses in play not only helps in the diagnosis of the case, but the gratification obtained by the child through the particular bit of play directly leads in many cases to a diminution in the existing anti-social behaviour.

I remember a boy of thirteen years of age, who among other things, was excessively rude to his mother. During play he repeated on endless occasions the following behaviour : Four dogs were arranged in a row and they were given four names. "This is daddy ; this is mummy ; this one is Norah (his sister) ; this one is Gordon (his brother)." The game consisted of knocking down these dogs by throwing a rubber ball at them. As "Mother" was hit time after time and made to tumble, the lad gave hearty grunts of gleeful satisfaction. He selected this game of his own accord, on five or six consecutive days of attendance. On interviewing the mother a few days later to inquire how the boy was getting on, she replied that he was better altogether, but the thing that struck her most was how completely his rudeness towards her had vanished. The child gave expression to the feelings of hatred he had towards his mother in the form of knocking her down in play, with the result that he was no longer

compelled to do so in real life, in the form of being rude to her.

Marjorie aged $3\frac{1}{2}$ was brought to the clinic on account of fits of vacant staring. She was reported to be devoted to her baby brother, aged a year and a half; but other facts made me feel that behind this exterior of extreme devotion there lurked perhaps unconscious impulses of hatred towards this baby brother, as he had very substantially displaced her from being the sole object of her mother's love and attention.

I asked Marjorie in a casual way whether she liked her baby-brother. She grunted that she loved him and she ran to her brother as he stood a few paces away and hugged him hard, kissing him, and rubbing her nose against his. Immediately after this we went to the play-rooms, and she went straightway to the "water-room." Without the slightest fumbling and with a look of grim determination, as it appeared to me, she went to a shelf where she knew a number of rubber dolls of various kinds were kept and she carefully picked out a male doll, discarding one or two female dolls that came to her hands first. She then placed the baby doll into a large sink and filled it with water; she next brought a jar of dirty-looking brown paint, selecting the colour from three or four shades of more pleasing appearance. Then, dipping the brush in the messy looking paint, she smeared the doll's face with it. She did this with great concentration for nearly a minute, rubbing the brush as hard as she could, particularly about the eyes and nose. I asked her during this preoccupation in as unobtrusive a way as possible whether the rubber doll was a boy or a girl. The answer came at once as if from a distance, "Boy." I asked her also at this point if she liked her baby brother. Her answer was a shake of the head from side to side. She was so engrossed with rubbing the face of the doll and poking the sharp end of the brush in its eyes that it was possible at that moment to get an answer based on unconscious impulse rather than conscious feelings. For those of you who are not convinced of the existence of unconscious

impulses of jealousy and hatred in this child towards her baby brother, I may add that immediately after smearing the face with the messy paint and poking the sharp end of the brush into his eyes, she took hold of the doll in a rough manner and put it in an empty bucket. She then opened the tap vigorously and filled the vessel with water. Asked what she was doing, she said "I am drowning baby." It is not always that play reveals in such a simple fashion the existence of unconscious impulses. Sometime months of observation of the child's play is necessary before his unconscious impulses become apparent. But such patient observation invariably helps in the long run, besides being one of the most interesting parts of the work.

It must, by this time, be apparent how detailed are the investigations undertaken in the Child Guidance Clinic and how comprehensive is the scope of the inquiry. The different members of the staff contribute their share in the eradication of the difficulties, by careful scrutiny of the physical health of the child, his emotional make-up, his intellectual abilities, his play, and the lives of his relatives and others who come in contact with him. All this requires such a large amount of patient work undertaken by the paediatrist, the psychiatrist, the psychologist, and the social worker, that it may be wondered by some if it is worthwhile expending so much effort in this field. It may be answered, without hesitation, however, that the results even if slow, are so gratifying that little doubt is left in the minds of these workers about the worthwhileness of devoting the time and energy that this problem, like any other serious human endeavour, requires.

CHAPTER VI

THE DEPENDENT CHILD

BY

CLIFFORD MANSHARDT, A. M., D. B., PH. D., D. D.

(Director, The Sir Dorabji Tata Graduate School of Social Work, Bombay.)

Since the work of the Society for the Protection of Children in Western India is concerned largely with dependent children, it is well to understand what we mean by dependent children ; to acquire some knowledge of the ways in which the dependent child has been dealt with through the years ; to discuss modern tendencies in treatment ; and to discover, if we can, some methods of prevention.

Here is a family living in Bombay. The family is composed of a father, a mother and three children. The father is employed as a skilled mechanic in the mills. His salary is adequate to meet the family needs. The mother is not compelled to work outside the home. She centres her attention upon her home and children. The children are properly fed, suitably clothed, in good health, and are sent to a municipal school. There is harmony within the family and the family lives at peace with its neighbours. This, in brief, is a picture of an independent family. Strictly speaking, of course, there is no such thing as an independent family, for every family is dependent upon outside resources for certain services. But for our practical purpose, a family such as the one described above, may be said to be independent.

Contrast this family with a family in which the breadwinner is dead and the mother is not able to support the children ; or suppose both parents suddenly die, leaving the children as helpless orphans. Obviously, unless the children are to suffer, some outside agency—either friends or an organized agency—must come to the rescue. The

family which stands in need of such external help is known as dependent, and it is with children of such families that this chapter is in part concerned.

The simple illustration which I have just used, by no means exhausts the field of child dependency. Death is not the only enemy of the home. Sickness, unemployment, poverty, immorality, criminality and other causes result in family breakdown, the removal of children from their homes, and their placement in institutions or foster homes. The development, from the indiscriminate placing of all unfortunate children in public almshouses along with the aged, the sick and the insane, to the modern scientific study of the needs of the individual child, is an absorbing study.

During the feudal period in Europe, all families were attached to the land and owed allegiance to some feudal lord. The worker had little that was his own, but theoretically at least, he and his family were assured of maintenance. The children of the peasants had no distinctive place as children. They were simply a part of the process of production. Their value lay in their present and potential productive capacity.

With the breakdown of feudalism, the population became more mobile and the unemployed and destitute became dependent upon the gifts of private charity. It was not until 1601, during the reign of Queen Elizabeth, that the State accepted the principle of the assistance of the poor from the public taxes. Under the terms of the Forty-third Act, the possible recipients of relief were divided into three classes: children, able-bodied and infirm. Children in need of help might be given work by the parish overseers; apprenticed until they reached their majority; placed in private homes at public expense, or in poorhouses.

The American pattern tended to follow the English pattern. Child indenture was practised, and dependent young children were placed in public almshouses until they were old enough to be hired out to employers. In the almshouses no attempt was made to separate the

sexes, or the young from the old, and too often the public poorhouse degenerated into a school for vice and crime.

The obvious abuses connected with the mixed almshouse led to an awakening of public opinion and the demand that dependent children should be cared for in separate institutions. Hence it was that orphanages came into being—institutions for the care of children only. The establishment of orphanages was a recognition of the principle that unfortunate children had definite needs of their own and could not simply be lumped with destitute adults.

The obvious abuses connected with the mixed almshouse of the 19th Century, extended the principle of the individualization of treatment and led to the attempt to find foster homes for individual children, which would suit the requirements of each child. This method of approach was in marked contrast to the earlier method, so prevalent in England, of the apprenticeship of groups of children to industrial establishments. The aim of the authorities, under this system, was not the welfare of the child, but to lessen the burden of public expense by securing as much of the maintenance cost as possible out of the work of the children.

In England, as in America, it came to be recognized that cheapness of administration was not all, but that in the interest of the public welfare, dependent children should not only be maintained, but also trained to become self-respecting citizens. The great institutions, housing their scores of children, came to be supplemented by smaller cottages, often located in proximity to board schools. In the cottages the children shared a corporate life and received the personal attention of the house mother. They attended the nearest elementary school and participated, to some extent, in the ordinary life of the community.

In both England and America the modern trend has been in the direction of foster home care, which includes placing children in families and making at least partial reimbursement for their care; the legal adoption of

dependent children ; or the free care of children in private homes which appear to be suited to the needs of the particular child.

In India, because of the obvious advantages of the joint family system and because so large a proportion of our people live in a rural environment, the institutional care of dependent children has not loomed as large as in the West. And yet, in every important Indian city there are orphanages maintained by the various communities for the care of homeless children. The most of these orphanages are still in the large institutional stage. The children are cared for *en masse*, with little attempt at individualization. Much still remains to be done before each child is assured of development along the line which is most in harmony with his innate abilities. And yet, such steps are being taken. The very appearance of this volume is a recognition of the fact that one child-caring agency, at least, has a definite interest in the problem. The actual realization of the aim is dependent upon two factors : a sympathetic and intelligent managing personnel, and the organization of the work in accord with the accepted principles of modern social science. Social case work is absolutely indispensable to any scientific programme of child care.

If the summary which we have made thus far has any value at all, it should be that of making clear that there is no single way of dealing with dependent children. Orphanages have their place ; cottage homes are of value ; outside placing and legal adoption have proved their worth ; the giving of financial help to impoverished parents has helped to hold many a deserving family together. The one important principle to be kept in mind in every form of relief is the child and his needs.

The survey of the years shows that much has been accomplished, but much still remains to be done. In every country there are outworn survivals competing with the more modern methods of child care. Endowments which have outlived their usefulness have been no small factor in perpetuating these survivals. The

giver, generous of heart, but unaware of modern trends in social work, may inadvertently do much to retard the march of progress.

But important as is the care of dependent children, the prevention of dependency is still more fundamental. Society has found the family to be the agency best fitted for the preservation and transmission of its cultural heritage. It is in the family circle that the children acquire their general attitudes toward life and their basic habits of thought and of action. It is the family group which gives the child a feeling of membership and a sense of security. Through participation in the life of the family the child discovers the advantages of co-operation and mutual aid. He learns the meaning of love and loyalty. It is because men in every generation have appreciated the advantages of wholesome family life that their hearts have gone out to those children who have been deprived of these advantages. But a sympathy which is content to ameliorate alone, is not enough. The thoughtful person must ask the further question: "What can be done about it?"

Why is it that after years, and even centuries of attempts to deal with child dependency the problem remains? The causes of most evils are multiple, but there are certain obvious reasons which are plain to all. Who among us has not had a friend or acquaintance become disabled through illness and rendered physically incapable of supporting his family. Who among us has not seen a father or mother snatched away by death when the children were still at an early age. Every day we read in our papers of men, who were the sole support of their families killed or incapacitated by street or industrial accidents. All of us are aware of the tragic significance of unemployment and underemployment. We have seen the disintegrating influence of starvation wages. The question which we must face is, "Which of these contributing factors are subject to social control?" "Can we, by taking thought, tend to minimize their consequences?"

The Report of the Public Health Commissioner with the Government of India for the Year 1934, which was recently released, contains some most interesting materials. Of a total of 6,900,000 deaths in British India, nearly 200,000 were from cholera ; 84,000 from small-pox ; 80,000 from plague ; 300,000 from dysentery and diarrhoea ; 500,000 from respiratory diseases ; 4,000,000 from fevers ; and $1\frac{3}{4}$ millions from other causes.

In 1933, the Director-General of the Indian Medical Service estimated that there were probably two million cases of tuberculosis in India. The 1934 report expresses the opinion that the disease is increasing rapidly and the estimate of just over 2 million cases is probably much too low. The Fifth Annual Report of the King George Thanksgiving (Anti-tuberculosis) Fund, for the year 1935, states that between 150,000 and 650,000 persons die annually in India of tuberculosis.

Turning to malaria, the Report of the Public Health Commissioner confesses that information as to mortality from malaria is scanty and unreliable and adds that "the general belief that approximately one-third of all deaths recorded as due to fevers are in fact due to malaria does not appear to be an over-statement of the position." A former Director of Public Health in the United Provinces computes that the annual death rate from malaria in India is as high as five millions, and that out of the hundred million people who are annually attacked by this disease, 80 per cent do not receive the necessary treatment owing to the totally inadequate supply and distribution of quinine.

And as if this were not enough, turn for a moment to the subject of maternal mortality. Speaking at the 14th Session of the Annual Conference of Medical Research Workers in India, in Calcutta, in late November 1936, Major General Sir Cuthbert Sprawson, Director-General of the Indian Medical Service, suggested that about 200,000 women were laying down their lives every year in making their contribution to the community. This figure equalled the combined annual mortality in India

from small-pox and plague and was nearly equal to the number of deaths from cholera every year. The problem was, therefore, one of first rate importance from the point of view of public health.

The tragedy of the situation is that the major epidemic diseases—cholera, plague and small-pox are preventable when proper precautionary measures are taken. Although the city of Bombay has some of the worst slums in the world, the efficient work of the Municipal Health Department has practically eliminated plague from the city. The Public Health Commissioner with the Government of India states plainly that although Governments or local authorities maintain adequate staffs of vaccinators throughout the country, and vaccination and re-vaccination are free, small pox still remains endemic—"its continued prevalence being apparently a measure of the passive resistance to public health improvement."

Regarding tuberculosis, the Report points out that "Environmental sanitation in India is definitely backward and in particular the housing problem is exceedingly difficult. Many urban areas have bad or indifferent building bye-laws and there is a tendency to enforce these, such as they are, very inadequately. Year by year, housing conditions are created in many towns favourable to the rapid spread of tuberculosis. The problem ultimately is one of improving housing in urban areas with all that this connotes in the way of space, sunlight and fresh air. To tackle the problem from any other aspect than this is to begin at the wrong end. It is beyond the financial resources of the country to build hospitals and sanatoria to house our countless cases of tuberculosis, unless we can reduce markedly the number of fresh cases infected each year, by improvement of environmental conditions."

The Fifth Annual Report of the King George Thanksgiving Fund for the year 1935, declares that the untold misery occasioned by tuberculosis in thousands of homes "is preventable and unnecessary, though a just revenge of nature for our negligence and incompetency to tackle

the tuberculosis problem in India." Suggested preventive measures resolve themselves into four distinct groups :

- "(1) The removal of ignorance by educating the public as to the causes and preventive measures necessary to fight the disease.
- (2) The betterment of conditions of living : town planning, better housing and sanitary improvements.
- (3) The removal of certain social customs and vices.
- (4) The provision of tuberculosis dispensaries for early diagnosis of cases. Where possible, sanatoria, hospitals, and colonies, should be established for patients who cannot be treated properly in their own homes."

The Annual Report of the London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine demonstrates clearly that malaria can be prevented when the problem is definitely taken in hand. Preventive measures on the tea estates in Assam and Northern Bengal and the rubber plantations of Malaya have produced striking results. Of the work in Assam, the late Sir Austen Chamberlain said : "In one report of a meeting of the Ross Institute Industrial Advisory Committee published in 1934, a Medical Officer on a group of estates in Assam stated that in 1927 the total sick days in his practice amounted to 249,306 days. As the anti-malarial work progressed, this was reduced, year by year, until in 1933, the sick days amounted to 141,687. This represents a reduction of 107,619 sick days in 1933, compared with six years previously in 1927."

An annual maternal mortality of 200,000 tells its own story, but here alone is one striking answer as to the prevalence of child dependency. The favourable results of a constructive approach to this problem are clearly evident in Chapter Two.

Accidents may be divided into three general classes : those occurring at home ; those occurring in industrial establishments ; and those occurring on the streets or in public places. It is impossible to know the number of home accidents or the number of accidents which take

place upon the public streets or highways. Certainly the increasing use of the motor car in India is resulting in a corresponding increase in accidental injuries and deaths.

The report of the Motor Vehicles Insurance Committee, issued in 1937, states that India has the highest accident rate for motor vehicles in the world. "As a result of the comprehensive inquiries made by the Committee in all quarters of India, it was found that the rate of deaths per motor vehicle in India was at least 93 per 10,000 compared with 59.4 (the next highest figure) in Italy and 7.4 (the lowest) in New Zealand. The figures for non-fatal accidents reported in India were also found to be high, though there was reason to believe that a large number of such accidents were not reported."

A large number of those killed and crippled must represent the fathers and mothers of children. If the experience of other countries teaches anything, the number of accidents and deaths due to automobiles will increase rather than diminish. The almost irresistible lure of speed, faulty judgment, mechanical or structural defects, the indifference of pedestrians and cyclists, the taking of unwarranted chances, drunkenness and sheer carelessness, all enter into the problem. The school children may be educated in the principles of the safe use of the streets; cyclists and pedestrians may learn to use the inner lanes and footpaths; a few motorists will learn through bitter experience that speeding does not pay; but an ever-increasing new crop of motorists will keep the death toll mounting. The only remedy is vigilance and more vigilance, on the part of both motorists and non-motorists—and surely that is a small price to pay for the welfare of the host of children who might otherwise be left motherless or fatherless.

It is next to impossible to ascertain the number of industrial accidents in India and quite impossible to estimate the number of working days lost through accidents. The annual wage loss must reach a very high figure indeed, and it is a loss that can ill be afforded when workmen live as close to the subsistence level as do the Indian

workmen. Even in cases of extreme injury or death, where compensation is paid, there is inevitably a lowering of the family standard of living, followed by partial or even entire dependence upon relatives or outside charitable agencies.

The Annual Report of the Working of the Indian Factories Act in the Punjab for the year 1934, shows a total of 754 reported accidents : 17 fatal, 48 serious and 689 minor. Although this represents a decrease in the total number of accidents, the number of fatal accidents has almost doubled. In the United Provinces in the same year there were 2,099 reported accidents : 39 fatal, 412 serious, and 1,648 minor. In the Madras Presidency in 1935 there were 1,605 reported accidents, of which 420 were serious and 19 fatal. In Bombay, for the same year, the total reached 6,825 : thirty-six fatal, 1,689 serious and 5,100 minor.

The Chief Inspector of Factories in Madras tends to be pessimistic. "In textile mills," he says, "workers still continue to take risks with moving machinery in the most crass and stupid way, notwithstanding all warnings.....In spite of the formation of safety first committees in the railway workshops and the co-operation extended by employers in the attempt to keep down the incidence of accidents, no marked reduction in the number of accidents due to carelessness, disobedience, ignorance, or foolhardiness seems likely."

The Bombay Report, on the other hand, is more optimistic. "In the principal industry (the textile industry)," it states, "accidents did not increase *pari passu* with the increase in employment and this may, fairly in part at least, be attributed to the stimulation of interest in methods which operate to prevent accidents. Great stress has, in the past, been laid on the value of educational work. Although some of the safety committees are not functioning too well, others are doing really useful work and in the day to day routine in the mills, the net benefit derived from the creation of these bodies is probably greater than is apparent on paper."

If the situation in the other Provinces approximates at all the Bombay pattern, the great body of industrial workers are between the ages of 20 and 35. which means that when the head of the family is incapacitated there are almost inevitably small children who suffer.

Before the introduction of the Workmen's Compensation Acts little attention was paid to the prevention of accidents. But when accidents began to mean an actual monetary loss, the employers began to take notice. The subject of industrial safety is now being studied carefully by all alert employers. It is reasonable to expect that their educative efforts will eventually bear fruit.

Unemployment and underemployment—both of which are widely prevalent in India—are a major cause of child dependence. The International Labour Office at Geneva, estimated in 1935, that there were approximately 25 millions unemployed throughout the world, of whom about one-fourth, or six to seven millions, were young persons below the age of 25. The representative of Indian Labour at the Labour Conference in Geneva in the same year, declared that there was perhaps more unemployment in India than in any other country. That the Government of India and the Provincial Governments are alert to this problem is well pointed out in a recent editorial in the *Calcutta Statesman* (October 10, 1936). The editorial states that "the last four years or so have witnessed a considerable amount of activity in the various Industries and Agriculture Departments in the launching of comprehensive and well thought out schemes of relief. The Government of Bengal took the lead in the matter in the latter part of 1932, when it adopted certain measures for dealing with middle-class unemployment in the province. Under the scheme training is given in soap-making, the manufacture of leather goods, pottery, brass and bell-metal ware, cutlery, jute and wool-weaving and umbrella making. In the deltaic districts of Bengal demonstration parties are instructing young men in coir manufacture..... The Tanning Institute at Tangra is doing commendable work in teaching large numbers of youths the art of boot

and shoe making, while at the Government Weaving Institute at Serampore the students are initiated into the mysteries of hand weaving and dyeing. Lessons in silk-weaving, dyeing and painting are also given at the Berhampore Government Silk-weaving and Dyeing Institute, besides general instruction in technical and industrial subjects in various other institutes throughout the province. An important branch of the work is exploration of possibilities for the introduction of new and improved methods of manufacture. This work has proved invaluable both to the small industrialist and to the factories... As a result of the Industries Department's labours, more than eleven thousand youths have so far been provided with improved opportunities of employment.

"In the United Provinces, the recommendations of the Committee presided over by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru have resulted in the setting apart by the Government of a sum of Rs. 4,00,000 for expenditure on various schemes of relief, including practical training in agriculture for selected youths, the scientific development of farms, training in the organized supply of milk and milk products to cities and large towns, vocational and industrial courses and training in veterinary science. Although the Sapru Report is confined, in the first instance, to the problem as viewed in the United Provinces, the Government of India recognize that several aspects of the problem are common throughout India and the recommendations could be implemented with benefit even outside the United Provinces.....

"Meanwhile the other provinces are by no means inactive. In the Punjab, in addition to presenting graduates in agriculture with free plots of land for scientific farming, the Government are opening a tailoring school where boys will be taught cutting and tailoring on the most modern lines. In Bihar the Government have created a special department with the object of absorbing educated unemployed youths in the non-official industrial concerns of the province. Scholarships are also being given to suitable persons to obtain specialized training

both in India and abroad in the different branches of industry. Various schemes, more or less on the lines of those in operation in Bengal and the United Provinces are also functioning in Bombay, Madras, Assam and elsewhere. It is to be hoped that the Sapru Report will be instrumental in bringing about concerted action throughout India for an effective solution of the unemployment problem."

Although careful students will realize that the measures here proposed are but partial, the fact that Governments are actually studying the problem is a distinct gain. And every head of a family put back to work, or continued in work, represents one more victory in the war against dependency.

The charge is often levelled against social workers that they concern themselves with ameliorative measures while neglecting the major social issue of a living wage. The living wage has a direct bearing upon child dependency. Until the worker actually receives a wage which will allow him to keep his family in decency and to enjoy a certain feeling of security, family life cannot be stable. An adequate income is a fundamental of child protection.

There are no statistics regarding the number of illegitimate births in India, and yet the figure must be large. Certainly the social worker comes into constant touch with this problem. There are few orphanages but what contain their quota of children born to unmarried mothers. The older method of approach was to regard the mother as unfit to assume the care of the baby and to remove the child from the home. The newer attitude is more humane. The emphasis is shifting from the punishment of the mother to the welfare of the child. The full restoration of the mother and her child to the family home, will do much to prevent this particular phase of child dependency. The more fundamental problem of providing such an adequate social environment as to prevent this form of delinquency is the problem of all of us.

The brief survey which we have attempted in this chapter has led us into many fields. But at the centre

may be found one unifying principle : the protection of the child. Methods of approach may vary, but if the strengthening of the family is continually kept in mind, no earnest efforts which are made in this direction will be wasted. *The first line of defence against dependency has been and will remain, the preservation of the home.*

CHAPTER VII

THE DELINQUENT CHILD

BY

CLIFFORD MANSHARDT, A. M., D. B., PH. D., D. D.

(Director, The Sir Dorabji Tata Graduate School of Social Work, Bombay.)

To the rank and file of the population the delinquent child is regarded as being of a different breed from the rest of us. Either he is a born criminal or has an hereditary taint, such as mental deficiency, which sets him apart. It is really amazing to note the lengths to which men have gone to explain "the criminal type," failing to recognize the obvious, that the delinquent child has the same general psycho-physical equipment as the non-delinquent child; that he is operated upon by his environment in the same general manner, but that for some reason or other—to be explained—his response differs.

Since delinquency is not known to the common law, its definition must be gathered from statutes. Speaking generally, therefore, a delinquent child is a child under a certain age, who is accused of one or more of the following misdemeanours: living by begging; wandering; frequenting the company of thieves, criminals or prostitutes; habitual incorrigibility; immorality; continually absenting himself from school; running away from home; visiting saloons, gambling houses or houses of ill fame; or violating statutes or ordinances. The laws vary in different countries and in the different provinces of India, but the above statement will at least give a fair idea of what is meant by delinquency.

It is interesting to note the kinds of misbehaviour for which children are remanded. The Juvenile Court statistics compiled by the United States Childrens Bureau for the year 1928, contain the following classification of offences, together with the percentage of

offenders for each offence : stealing 38 per cent. ; truancy 9 per cent. ; running away 8 per cent. ; beyond parental control 10 per cent. ; sex offence 4 per cent. ; injury or attempted injury to person 3 per cent. ; act of carelessness or mischief 25 per cent. ; other charges 3 per cent.

Of the 1230 cases remanded to the Bombay Children's Aid Society in 1936, 580 were for destitution, wandering or improper guardianship ; 221 for theft ; 168 for sexual offence, victims of sexual offence or living in bad moral conditions ; 58 for being uncontrollable ; 47 for begging or used for begging purposes ; 26 as victims of cruelty ; 21 for breach of probation ; 29 for gambling ; 12 because of disputed guardianship ; 10 because of parent in custody ; 10 for hawking ; 8 for throwing stones at railway train ; 6 for escape from certified school ; 5 for travelling without a ticket ; 4 for assault ; 4 for rioting ; 3 for escape from custody ; 3 for smuggling tobacco into Bombay ; 2 for breach of bail order ; 2 for breach of license ; 2 for living with *mawalis* ; 2 for breach of court order ; 1 for cheating , 1 for breach of curfew order ; 1 for transfer from certified school ; 1 for murder ; 1 for riding a bicycle dangerously ; 1 for trespass ; 1 because of drunken parent.

Of the 546 cases dealt with by the Madras Juvenile Court in 1936, 147 were for theft ; 202 were destitutes ; 100 were uncontrollables ; 9 were for gambling ; 9 for riding cycle without a light ; 13 for riding two on a cycle ; 1 for assisting in the disposal of stolen property ; 8 for trespassing ; 3 for rash and negligent driving ; 9 for breach of trust ; 10 for being in possession of stolen property ; 3 for committing nuisance ; 3 for fraudulent possession of property ; 4 for assault ; 1 for attempt to commit suicide ; 3 for causing hurt to animals ; 2 arrested under suspicious circumstances ; 1 for escaping from lawful custody ; 1 for causing grievous hurt ; 9 rescued from brothels ; 1 for obstruction ; 1 for adulteration ; 1 for excise violation ; 5 for miscellaneous reasons.

Whereas in the United States, 38 per cent. of the cases were connected with theft, the figures for Madras

and Bombay are 30 per cent. and 18 per cent. respectively. In the United States offences connected with sex accounted for 4 per cent. of the cases, as against 2 per cent. for Madras and 14 per cent. for Bombay. 10 per cent. of the American cases are classified as uncontrollable, the figures for Bombay and Madras being 5 per cent. and 18 per cent. Destitution, which accounts for 37 per cent. of the Madras cases and 47 per cent. of the Bombay cases, does not appear in the American statistics because the United States figures deal with delinquency alone, while the Indian figures include cases of dependency and neglect. This also accounts for the higher Bombay figure for sex offences, which includes both offences by children and against children.

It is very easy in discussing juvenile delinquency to make broad generalizations. Thus such single factors as poverty or bad housing are often brought forward as the causes of delinquency. It is true that a great number of delinquents come from poor homes and live under very bad housing conditions, but that is but a part of the story. Other children coming from equally poor homes and just as bad housing conditions are not delinquent. In fact, the longer I live in the slums, the more I marvel that so few boys and girls become delinquent. To explain delinquency as due to any single cause is too easy. Delinquency is of multiple determination.

Burt, in his important study of delinquency¹ assigns the following order of importance to the various conditions affecting delinquency :

1. Defective discipline.
2. Specific instincts.
3. General emotional instability.
4. Morbid emotional conditions, mild rather than grave, generating or generated by so-called complexes.
5. A family history of vice or crime.

¹ Burt, Cyril, *The Young Delinquent*, University of London Press, pp. 606-607.

6. Intellectual disabilities, such as backwardness or dullness.
7. Detrimental interests, such as passion for adventure, for the cinema, etc.
8. Developmental conditions, such as adolescence, or precocity in growth.
9. A family history of intellectual weakness.
10. Defective family relationships.
11. Influences operating outside the home—as bad street companions, and lack or excess of facilities for amusement.
12. A family history of temperamental disorder—of insanity or the like.
13. A family history of physical weakness.
14. Poverty and its concomitants.
15. Physical inferiority or weakness in the child himself.

“Of environmental conditions,” says Burt, “those obtaining outside the home are far less important than those obtaining within it; and within it, material conditions, such as poverty, are far less important than moral conditions, such as ill discipline, vice, and most of all, the child’s relations with his parents... .. Among personal conditions, the most significant are, first, the mental dullness which is not severe enough to be called deficiency, and, secondly, the temperamental instability which is not abnormal enough to be considered pathological. Among social conditions, by far the most potent is the family life; and, next to it, the friendships formed outside the home. These four conditions are paramount. Between them, as main determining factors, they account for more than 50 per cent. of juvenile delinquencies and crimes.”

Miss Beard, in her study of 500 Boston delinquents,¹ places bad companions at the top of the environmental factors contributing to delinquency, with lack of parental control a close second. In her analysis, ideation and imagery head the personal factors.

¹ Beard, Belle, B., *Juvenile Probation*, American Book Co., p. 31.

Although it is very doubtful whether the boys were really able to analyse the motives which led them into delinquency, 309 boys committed to the Whittier California State School assigned their difficulties to (1) the bad influence of others ; (2) the desire for adventure or thrill ; (3) a desire for the articles stolen ; (4) unhappy home life ; (5) the desire for fun ; (6) dislike for school—followed by a long list of miscellaneous causes ¹

Dr William Healy² after fifteen years of studying delinquents, arrived at the conclusion that delinquency can only be explained by an understanding of the *whole* situation—the interplay of the individual and his environment, which of course is psychical as well as physical. Furthermore, “the real situation is very frequently not merely dependent upon conditions as they are, but also upon previous situational and mental experiences. Perhaps it might be said of everybody that the conduct of to-day is made by the experience of yesterday. Experiences persist in mental attitudes, often in the subconscious background, or as mental representations. So the ‘whole situation’ in conduct problems includes left-overs from the yesterdays of life.” The individual conduct situation is therefore not static. It is a process, always in the making. For this reason any seizing upon single “causes” of delinquency is dangerous.

In a later study.³ Dr Healy supplemented his earlier observations with the significant finding that delinquent conduct as overt behaviour is a means of expressing dissatisfaction with existing human relationships. It is an attempt to find relief from an unsatisfying situation. The cause of the delinquency can only be determined by a complete study of all the factors concerned—the child’s inherited traits, and his psychical and physical environment.

¹ Fenton, Norman, *The Delinquent Boy and the Correctional School*, pp. 74-75.

² *The Child, the Clinic, and the Court*, pp. 40-43.

³ Healy, William and Bronner, Augusta, *New Light on Delinquency and its treatment*, Yale University Press, 1936.

In the old days, and it was not so many years ago, the child who found himself in trouble with the law entered the same jail as adults and was tried in the same courts. To-day that practice is changed. The juvenile court came into being to prevent children from being treated as criminals. The Illinois Law of July, 1899, which established the first court for the hearing of children's cases, stated: "If the offender is *young* the object of court procedure is not to discover whether he has committed a specific offence; but to determine if he is in such a condition that he has lost or has never known the fundamental rights of childhood and parental shelter, guidance and control."

The sponsors of the original act were convinced that the delinquent child should be treated in the same manner as the dependent or neglected one; that instead of being looked upon as a criminal appearing before the court to receive his punishment, he should be looked upon simply as a child in need of guidance and protection. The whole idea was to do away with the concepts of crime, guilt and punishment and their accompanying attitudes of resentment and hostility and to put in their place the idea of guardianship, with the State standing in the place of the parent. The actual realization of this aim of course depends upon the intelligence and social vision both of the community in which the court is placed and of those directly responsible for its conduct.

Both the terminology of the juvenile court and its procedure differ from that of the criminal court. The following comparative list of terms employed is instructive:

<i>Criminal Court</i>	<i>Juvenile Court</i>
Complaint (against)	Petition (in behalf of)
Warrant	Summons
Trial	Hearing
Sentence	Commitment

The procedure of the juvenile court is strictly informal. In place of the ordinary courtroom with its crowd of

curious spectators and formal procedure, the juvenile court presents the appearance of an informal conference, with magistrate, the child and his parents, and the essential court officers as participants. Each child has a private hearing. Spectators and reporters are excluded.

Before the child is brought before the magistrate, the probation officer has made a preliminary investigation of the case and has a social history of the child. There are no legal gymnastics with their attendant confusing of witnesses. The child and such witnesses as may be called before the court are allowed to tell their stories in their own way and are questioned in a purely conversational manner. Where it appears advisable, the child may be excluded from the room during the testimony of others, particularly when expert psychologists and psychiatrists give their opinions of the child.

The object of the hearing is not to punish the child, as a warning to others, but to discover the reasons underlying the individual delinquency and to determine how the individual child can be helped in the most effective manner. In the more modern courts the magistrate has the assistance of the child guidance clinic, with its expert staff of psychiatrist, physician, psychologist and social workers. Although the magistrate is under no compulsion to accept the advice of the clinic, the conclusions of the clinic regarding the child and a suggested programme of treatment are available for his guidance.

The majority of the juvenile courts are not anxious to commit children to institutions. The cases which appear before the court may be divided into three general groups: (1) children from good homes in which the parents are anxious to co-operate in the treatment programme, and where there is considerable hope of a successful termination of the case; (2) children from homes where the parents are willing to co-operate in treatment, but which need the assistance and guidance of outside workers—either representatives of social agencies or probation officers; (3) children from homes which provide little or nothing in the way of co-operation, and where

temporary removal from the home seems to be the best method of procedure.

The accepted court policy is to remove the child from the home in as few cases as possible. The most widely employed method of dealing with young delinquents is that of probation. The theory underlying probation is that since the object of the juvenile court is not punishment, and since all children will certainly not profit from commitment to a correctional institution, the return of the child to his home, or to a foster home, under court supervision, will best help the child to make a proper adjustment to society.

When the court regards the child as a fit subject for probation, the child is instructed to visit the probation department immediately upon leaving the court. Here the meaning of probation is explained to him and his relationship to the probation officer defined. While a number of untrained probation officers regard themselves as policemen and have a distinctly authoritarian attitude, the probation officer with a social outlook regards himself as the friend of the child and seeks to keep the whole relationship upon this basis. "Supervision during the probation period is designed to bring about a normal adjustment of the probationer, both personally and socially, to help him to change his wayward attitudes and substitute constructive for anti-social conduct, and to erase from his thinking his conception of himself as a delinquent. The procedure, it has been said, 'partakes of the methods of the family case worker with special emphasis on personal character-building work.'"¹

The amount of time which the probation officer can devote to each child will depend upon the number of cases which he has in hand. Furthermore, some children will require much more attention than others. The thoughtful probation officer is presented with a neat problem as to whether he should devote his major effort

¹ Williamson, Margaretta, *The Social Worker in the Prevention and Treatment of Delinquency*, p. 28.

to those cases which he really feels will have successful outcomes if properly handled, or whether he should concentrate more attention upon the extremely difficult cases which seem to present little hope for success.

It is obvious that the probation officer should seek to enlist the interest and the full support of the delinquent's family, wherever such co-operation is possible. Many parents, even among educated people, are quite ignorant of how to treat their children. It is in this connection that the difference between the trained and untrained officer will be most apparent. Oftentimes family rehabilitation must precede the rehabilitation of the individual. The probation officer must therefore be acquainted with community resources for such assistance.

The length of probation may either be determined by law, or left indefinite—depending upon the progress of the individual. If probation fails, the child is returned to the court and may then be committed to an institution.

With the segregation of juvenile offenders from adults in specially-constructed correctional institutions, it was felt by many that the disposal of the juvenile delinquent was at last satisfactorily solved. But the extent to which the problem is solved depends upon the intelligence and sympathy with which the institution is administered. If the reformatory is simply a junior jail, there is little hope that the child will be restored to society as a social asset. If, on the other hand, the institution continues the juvenile court policy and stands in the place of a parent to the child, the situation is more favourable. One thing is certain. The fact that a young offender conforms to the regimented discipline of the correctional institution does not mean that he will also be well-behaved and well-adjusted upon release. The psychological attitudes developed during this period are the main determining factor.

In a study of the institutional treatment of 751 delinquent boys, issued by the Childrens Bureau of the United States Department of Labour, information obtained from 591 boys after their release from institutions, reveals that 456 or 77 per cent. were not able to make any use

of the industrial skill and knowledge acquired within the institutions. A similar study would be of value in India for guidance in shaping the educational policy of such institutions.

In India, at the present time, the Children Act is in operation in three Provinces: Madras, Bengal and Bombay. The Central Provinces has an Act, closely following the Bombay Act, but it is not yet in operation. In the Punjab preliminary steps are being taken. All of the Acts follow the same general pattern and apply both to the protection of children and the treatment of young offenders.

The protective provisions deal with children found wandering, destitute, living by begging, under unfit guardianship, frequenting the company of a reputed thief or prostitute, and lodging or residing in a house used by a prostitute for the purpose of prostitution. Such children, when brought before the court, may be committed to a certified school—which may be either a school established under the Act or an approved private school. As an alternative, the child may be committed to the care of a relative or other fit person named by the court, with or without probationary supervision. Provision is also made for the prosecution of those charged with committing offences against children and young persons, such as cruelty, causing or allowing a child or young person to beg, giving intoxicating liquor to a child, taking an article in pawn from a child or young person, and causing, encouraging or abetting seduction or prostitution of a young girl. Children against whom such offences are believed to have been committed may be removed to a place of safety, such as the remand homes operating in close conjunction with the courts. If the circumstances require, they may be committed to the care of relatives or other fit persons, with or without court supervision.

When a child or young person is charged with an offence, he may either be released on bail or detained for the period for which he is remanded, as the circumstances may require. The magistrate hearing the case

has several alternatives for its disposal. He may not sentence a child or young person to death or transportation or commit him to prison unless "he is so unruly or so depraved a character that he is not a fit person to be sent to a reformatory school and.....none of the other methods in which the case may legally be dealt with is suitable." The young offender may be sent to a certified school, a reformatory school, discharged after due admonition, or committed to the care of his parent or guardian or other adult relative or other fit person, with or without court supervision. Discharge and transfer from certified and reformatory schools are in the hands of the Local Government.

The juvenile court in India, as in America and Europe, is conducted in a very informal fashion by a magistrate specially designated for this purpose. The preliminary investigation is made by the probation officer, who is also in charge of the after-supervision of the child placed on probation. No court in India has as yet the assistance of a child guidance clinic. The cases are for the most part settled on what appears to be a "common-sense basis," with little attempt made to discover inner motives or to render treatment. Few probation officers are trained either as psychologists or social workers. In Bombay particularly, the probation officers carry far too heavy a case load.

A report from 61 courts in the United States shows 50 per cent. of the cases placed on probation. The figures for Madras and Bombay are 11 per cent. and 14 per cent. respectively. 17 per cent. of the American cases were committed to institutions, as against 23 per cent. for Bombay and 48 per cent. for Madras. The prevalent assumption appears to be that commitment to an institution will of itself help the child, particularly if the child stays in the institution for a sufficient number of years. The test of this assumption will have to be a careful study of recidivism among the young persons who have been released.

The detention facilities in Bombay and Madras are superior to those in Calcutta. In both Madras and Bombay the Children's Aid Society maintains a close relationship to the Juvenile Court. The tendency is, particularly in Bombay, for a far too extended period of detention. It is an open question whether the policy of operating certified schools in connection with the detention home is a sound one.

A very profound lack in each of the Provinces is any adequate facility for the proper care of mental cases. It is to be hoped that this defect will be remedied without further delay.

Certain obvious "next steps" present themselves in connection with the juvenile court programme :

- (1) The Children Act should be extended as rapidly as possible to other Provinces and to the smaller centres within the Provinces where the Act is now in operation.
- (2) The public should be educated to realize that the juvenile court is not punitive, but that its primary function is to help the child.
- (3) Magistrates appointed to the juvenile court should be fully trained for their task. They should not only know the law, but also have a knowledge of sociology and psychology, and the essential personal qualities for their work.
- (4) Woman referees should be designated by the magistrates to hear cases involving girls and young children.
- (5) The probation staff should be a trained one. The minimum qualification should be graduation from a recognized school of social work.
- (6) The magistrate should be assisted by a consulting staff of a physician, psychologist and psychiatrist to assist him in problems of diagnosis.
- (7) Diagnosis alone is of little value. The treatment programme must be carried out with the same care as the treatment of the sick within the best hospitals. When this position is once accepted it

will mean a complete revolutionizing of our current practice.

- (8) There should be proper facilities for detention. A detention home should, as its name implies, resemble a home and not a jail.
- (9) Institutional commitment should be reduced to a minimum.
- (10) The public should be educated to take an intelligent interest in correctional institutions.
- (11) Every effort should be made to hasten the provision of satisfactory facilities for the care of mental defectives.

The emphasis thus far has been upon the causes and treatment of juvenile delinquency, but it is obvious that the major problem which faces us is that of prevention. Since individual needs differ, any adequate programme of prevention must involve a considerable number of elements :

(1) Provision must be made for strengthening family life. This means pre natal care of the child, proper attendance for the mother at the time of delivery, post-natal care, parental education in child care, a programme of community health, public aid for widows with dependent children, regularized employment and economic security. The attitude of parents toward children is of prime importance.

(2) The schools should not only interest themselves in teaching subjects, but in the welfare of the child. Boys and girls who are now wandering the streets should be placed in school. Deviations from normal should be closely watched and incipient delinquency checked through an extension of child guidance clinics and the visiting teacher movement.

(3) Since a child's companions exercise so powerful an influence over his conduct, and since so much of delinquency can be attributed to unwholesome leisure-time activities, community provision should be made for play and recreation under proper supervision.

(4) In the larger cities, indiscriminate "charity" must give way to planned social work. Family welfare societies, with adequate financial resources, and a sound programme of family case work are indispensable elements in the prevention programme.

(5) Laws regulating the employment of young children should be tightened, so that children may not engage in morally harmful occupations. Increased attention should be paid to existing laws forbidding the exploitation of children. Thus in every Indian city we have the exploitation of child beggars, with very little official interference.

(6) Better housing facilities should be provided for the poorer classes, slum clearance extended, and existing housing regulations enforced.

(7) Workers in the child welfare and probation field should be adequately trained and paid salaries that will attract able men and women into the field.

(8) The different religious groups should bring the full influence of religion to bear upon this problem. Character education is of prime importance.

(9) Police should be trained to look upon their work, not only as repressive, but also as guardianship. Western experience in this field is most instructive.

The delinquent child is not some abstraction far removed from our interests. He may be your child, or he may be mine. No efforts that we may make can be too great for the saving of our own.

CHAPTER VIII

BALANCED DIETS FOR CHILDREN IN INSTITUTIONS

BY

K. S. MHASKAR, M. D., M. A., B. SC.

(Hon. Secretary, The Bombay Presidency Infant Welfare Society.)

The times are changing fast ; but in no period of human history have they changed so rapidly as they have during the last fifty years. Adjustments are still taking place and will require many more years before a satisfactory state of affairs is reached. Rapid means of travel and industrial production on a mass scale have revolutionized the older order of things and left their impress even in the remotest villages. The new order is a tribute to the inventive powers of a few geniuses but it has also enslaved the common people who make up the masses. In the attempt to make life more easy and comfortable, there is actually produced more misery and dependence. The content of former days has given place to a blank outlook and nowhere is this so prominent as in India.

The "times" have changed in every particular excepting one—the production and availability of food. Old experience does not suffice ; new conditions have stressed the importance of certain points which have now become the major issues of life. The subject of food has to be studied again to suit the newer conditions. Primitive instincts are good enough when there is abundance of everything for all concerned ; but the new conditions require complex processes of adaptation which can only be evolved by the intelligentia of the land. The rapid spread of industrialisation has produced a new state of society which tolerates child labour, "sweat" shops and slave conditions of the masses. Inseparable from this is defective nutrition, which has been responsible for the

disastrous decline in the health of the population. Poverty forms the background of almost every evil, but its effects are aggravated to a remarkable extent by the profound ignorance regarding the food requirements of the human body.

Custom, tradition and religious beliefs which were at one time the result of careful thought, have no elasticity in them to suit newer conditions—especially when customs and traditions obtain a religious halo about them. They are perpetuated by ignorance and by a belief that what was good at one time ought to be good for all times. The propagation of knowledge, and newer knowledge, is essential if life is to be a happy all-round one. Custom, tradition and religious beliefs hold perhaps in India a greater sway than in any other country of the world.

Poverty, defective nutrition and ignorance form a vicious circle and require to be attacked on all fronts if the masses are to be saved from the present border line of health and ill-health. The task is a difficult one, but not so difficult as to be unachievable. The European powers were brought face to face during the war of 1914-1918 with food problems that meant life or death to their peoples. Large numbers of people offering themselves for field service had to be rejected on account of physical disabilities, nutritional in origin. As a result of scientific investigation in the field of practical dietetics and the application of these results by the masses, the standard of national physique is noticeably improving and nutritional disorders are fast becoming rarities. What has been achieved in Europe can be achieved in India, if the people attempt it with a will.

There is a difference, however, between achievements and attainments. Certain of these—like the railways—require little adaptation and can be transplanted to any part of the world. Others require more careful study of local conditions, and in no subject is this fact more pronounced than in the dietetic problems which face this country. The climate and the soil influence to a great extent the quality of food material available. Articles with

the same botanical descriptions vary to a wide extent in their constitution and their digestibility according to the climate and the soil of the country where the crops are raised. Add to this, the customs of the people in the preparation of the diet articles and the condition they are in at the time of eating. Digestibility refers not only to the quantity of the food, but also to the conditions which the person can afford during the process of digestion and absorption. How deplorably this subject has been neglected is just being realized; in no direction is greater guidance needed than in the feeding of the masses.

There are various approaches to this study; of which the most important is the study of the diet of the child, especially the child of the growing age. The high mortality of infants and of children and the appalling incidence in them of chlorosis, rickets, caries and other nutritional disorders is greater than the havoc caused by any of the wars in the world's history. The children suffer gravely from bad or wrong ideas of nutrition; even when poverty is not a determining factor, ignorance of the fact that a growing boy of 12 to 14 years requires as much food as a man doing a fair day's work and requires more variety in it, has caused much malnourishment and under-development which may in turn handicap him heavily in future life.

That an adequate diet is necessary for proper physical development is an accepted axiom of healthy life; it follows therefore that variations in quantity and quality of the diet will influence the illness the individual is likely to suffer from, and will affect his general health—especially during the period when that individual is rapidly growing, between the ages of 12 to 18 years. A study of the diets of several hostels of charity students shows that the amounts of food given were often arrived at empirically and were often made to conform to the strict dictates of economy rather than to the demands of a balanced diet. Since very few people have a conception of balanced diet—custom, fashion, appetites of the times, and reli-

gious practices usually determine the nature and quantity of food.

Institutions for children, especially those of lower classes, where board and lodging are provided, are of comparatively recent origin and are offshoots of social work where attempts are made to provide both physical and mental fare on a modest scale. In England and Europe, these institutions have a long history behind them and were often used as a means of living by the proprietor of the Institute. There was thus the greatest incentive to economy and to enrich oneself at the expense of the boarders. The literature of the times shows that the children were often badly under-fed and such essentials of diet as fresh fruit, butter, etc., were all too frequently regarded as luxuries or unsuited to the young.

The first serious attempt to introduce reform on a scientific basis was made in 1891 by Dr. Clement Dukes at Rugby. Since then conditions have much improved in several places, but even to-day there exist far too many schools where the system of feeding remains mostly empirical. Dr. W. S. Penbrey, a Professor of Physiology, attempted in 1915, to reform the diet and feeding of school children. He investigated the diets of five schools where the ages of the boys ranged from 8 to 18 years and gave comparisons with the average diet estimated by Moleschott. Most of the diets had a high protein content and were poor in fats. In three schools the calorie value was higher by 25 to 50 per cent. Moleschott's average diet allowed 2970 calories and contained 130 grams of protein, 84 of fat and 404 of carbohydrates.

Twelve years after (in 1927), a third survey of the requirements of school children was made by the Committee of the New Health Society. They examined the dietary of five different Public Schools, of which one was vegetarian. This Committee estimated the calorific requirements of young and active children on a basis other than an analysis of food actually consumed. They found that the figures for diet actually consumed are usually three times as much as those obtained by estimat-

ing the basal metabolism of children of various ages. This rough calculation might be misleading but was of definite value where detailed information was not available. Surprisingly high figures have been recorded for children. Gephart records instances of American school boys who take as much as 5000 calories per day in shape of regular diet and in the form of "tuck" and other uncontrolled supplies. In some English schools as much as 4000 to 5000 calories are consumed daily by children of about 15 years. This shows the ravenous appetites of boys, and the under-nutrition of some children seen in the schools, is due to want of realization of this factor.

Recent investigations show that the diet of the average normal child should contain the three main essential constituents in the following proportion :

Protein : Twelve per cent. of the total daily calories should be derived from protein and not less than 6 per cent. of this must be obtained from first-class animal protein.

Fat : 25 to 30 per cent. of the total calories should be in the form of fat—nine-tenths of which should be animal fat.

Carbohydrates : About 60 per cent. should be made up from carbohydrate foods.

The above proportions hold good for children and young people between 9-19 years of age ; below that age, back to infancy, a higher proportion of first class protein is necessary

The British Medical Association Committee of Nutrition (1933) allowed the following number of calories for each year of age :

YEARS	UTILIZABLE CALORIES	MAN VALUE
0 - 1	600	0.2
1 - 2	900	0.3
2 - 3	1200	0.4
3 - 6	1500 (1700)	0.5
6 - 8	1800 (2040)	0.6
8 - 10	2100 (2380)	0.7

	YEARS	UTILIZABLE CALORIES	MAN VALUE
	10 - 12	2400 (2720)	0·8
	12 - 14	2700 (3060)	0·9
Girl of 14 and onwards		2500 (3840)	0·83
Boy of 14 and onwards		3000 (3400)	1·00

Ten per cent. should be allowed for loss due to waste by cooking. The figures in brackets indicate the calories contained in the food as purchased.

The diet has further to provide sufficient quantities of vitamins and mineral salts. Such deficiency is often found in many dietaries now seen and was markedly present in the older dietaries. No actual quantities can be given and it is advisable that the supply be sufficiently large to protect against actual deficiency. Vitamins A, B and D are the ones that are usually found to be smaller in quantity than are necessary for normal nutrition and development. The importance of fresh fruit in the diet is now realised and the appreciation of this fact has eliminated to a large extent the risk of vitamin C deficiency.

Mineral salts are important as building materials and are usually present in a mixed diet in sufficient amounts. Calcium and Iron are the ones that are mostly found deficient.

The value of a diet can only be estimated when records of physical measurements are available from time to time. Very few schools keep such records and such as keep them, do it more from the disease point of view than that of health and growth. The records must be taken at sufficiently frequent intervals, and in order to be comparable, there ought to be uniformity in the method of collection and the standards of interpretation of results. Clothing of the child, time of the day and its relation to meals and exercise, influence the measurements taken. In spite of the difficult nature of the work, a few scattered attempts have been made in England which give valuable indications as to how such work ought to be carried out.

Systematic feeding over a long period does not alone

suffice if health has to be improved. Oral drill and nasal drill are quite as important as physical drill; the latter helps to assimilate the food taken, the former help to keep away disease and other retarding factors. In the class of people which requires a balanced diet the condition of noses, throats and mouths is always far from satisfactory.

Queer ideas about the value of a diet have prevailed at all times in all countries, either because there were no standards by which the value could be judged, or because the standards adopted were faulty ones. It was only after investigations in the methods adopted that faults were detected and new methods were evolved. The computation of the value of a diet in an educational institution is a complex process so far as the scientists are concerned, but this need not frighten the public, as these computations can be converted into figures for every-day use.

It is necessary to have first an accurate analysis of the diet used, or to be used. A complete quantitative list of raw food stuffs as issued weekly or monthly from the store to the kitchen should be obtained and should be mentioned in pounds and ounces. A complete list of the persons with their sexes, ages, occupations and general health should be obtained. It is necessary in addition to discriminate between issues of food-stuffs to boys only, and those common to boys and the rest of the staff, and calculations have to be made of the quantities actually consumed by the boys alone. It is sufficient to make these calculations once or twice a term, except when a dietary is introduced for the first time, so that gross variations or irregularities may be detected in time.

From the quantities so obtained per boy per month or per week, the food values should be calculated for each article of diet in calories and in grams for proteins, fats and carbohydrates and be further subdivided for the first two into animal and vegetable sources.

The calorie values of the constituents of food stuffs vary according to the climate, the soil, the season, manuring and attention paid to the crop. No one analysis

therefore can serve for all purposes. Such analyses are being carried out for different parts of India; for the present, however, the tables of food values issued by the several laboratories have been taken as guides for making the computations.

The method of assessing the intake of a boy is as follows: The calories are determined from the man-value equivalent of his age. Taking for example a boy of 10 years, the man-value equivalent is 0.8; the calories permissible for him in food as purchased are $3400 \times 0.8 = 2720$ calories per day. Twelve per cent. of this, i.e., 326, should be from proteins, of which at least 163 calories should be from animal proteins; 816 calories should be from fat, of which 735 calories should be from animal fat; the remainder, i.e., 1578 should be in the form of carbohydrates of vegetable origin. Multiplying this by 30 gives the total calories for the month, on which the monthly purchases of new food stuffs are made.

Food tables are then referred to, and all available local sources of animal proteins and fats are first taken into consideration, until their protein and fat contents very nearly yield the required calories from such sources. Some more substances are similarly listed to give the carbohydrate yield. Since very few of the raw food substances available are entirely in the form of proteins, fats or carbohydrates alone, and are usually a mixture of two or three constituents, it will be found that selection of each raw food-stuff raises for a particular constituent (e.g., carbohydrate) the protein and carbohydrate content as well to a certain extent. Potatoes for instance mainly yield carbohydrates but they also add very slightly to the total of vegetable proteins and fats. Meat often contains some fat as well. The final adjustments are made by requisitioning pure proteins or fats or carbohydrates, e.g., lean meat, oils and fats and sugars.

The above gives a variety of food-stuffs for the whole month, and within this limit is framed approximately the quantity of food required for a day. Further variations

are secured by the different methods of cooking and preparation of the diet.

In constructing a dietary, allowance has to be made for the summer and winter requirements and also for wastage on the plate. Such wastage has to be carefully estimated and allowance made for the same in the diet calculations.

For a complete investigation two more series of observations have to be made : (1) those on physical condition and (2) physical illness. The first is estimated by taking regular periodical measurements of height, weight, forearm, upper-arm, chest expanded and chest contracted. These have to be taken at the same time of the day, preferably in the morning, and have to be carried out by the same persons. Weight should be taken to the nearest quarter of a pound, and height to the nearest $\frac{1}{8}$ th of an inch.

It is a great advantage to have a boy stripped for the usual measurements. It helps the medical officer to detect the beginnings of any illness and make an estimate of his physical fitness. Such continuous records of a boy become an important guide to the individual and warn him of the dangers which he ought to avoid.

The physical measurements help one to deduce the average and show at a glance the category of the individual. By average is meant the mean measurements of the school population for the age period under consideration. The measurements help to distinguish the sub-normal from the under-sized, the influence of the inherited factor ; the relation between diet and physical regression, physical and mental stability. The measurements for "body-build" help one to decide the athletic possibilities of a person rather than to estimate his fitness for ordinary routine.

The method of "plotting" the results of the boy's weight, height and chest measurements on the time-increment table provides a pointer when the rate of growth is not proceeding normally, and such regression seldom fails to disclose some organic defect. Regression

in height signifies little ; that in weight may or may not matter ; but regression in the chest grade or in any two grades at the same time is usually a danger signal.

Early and sudden onset of puberty often indicates the overtaxing of the system and has to be met by adequate nourishment until physical equilibrium is established. There are boys who show no or little development during the years 11 to 13, but suddenly shoot up in the ages 14 to 15.

The growth of boys during the school-age is not a continuous curve and takes the form of an ascending switch-back due to lack of regularity in routine and an irregularity in diet values during the school-holidays.

The measurements may also indicate the effect of physical training by the continuous increase in the chest expansion rate.

The importance of physical measurements can never be over-estimated and the above indicate in brief the advantages that an individual or an institution can obtain from any routine by way of mental fare or of physical fare.

The value of a diet is further reflected in the medical inspection of the boys and the diseases and abnormalities revealed during the inspection. The tendency to acquire any current illness is also revealed. Chills, colds, septic conditions, infectious diseases, rheumatism, fractures, minor disorders like enteritis, neuralgias, stomatitis, gingivitis, influenza, pneumonia and any other current illnesses are noted ; if the diet is liberal in quantity and well balanced, the tendency to catch these diseases is very much diminished.

The tendency to fractures has a definite relation to the low supply of Vitamin D and Calcium in consequence of low supply of milk-ration and butter. Rheumatism is likewise less frequent in children who consume diets relatively rich in fresh dairy products and particularly fresh animal fats and animal proteins. Septic conditions like those of boils, styes, septic wounds, whitlows, scabies and ringworm are possibly prevented by the presence of

vitamin A in the food, as this assists the body in maintaining resistance to bacterial infections.

Oral cleanliness and nasal drill is one of the main factors in lessening the respiratory group of infections, and this receives a tremendous fillip when proper dietary is maintained. Adequate supply of milk improves the condition of the teeth, and caries of teeth become rare, especially about the age period of 10 years.

Dr Friend has recently (1935) published his investigations into the dietary records of about 800 boys at Christ's Hospital, during the twenty-year period of 1913 to 1933. The years cover four years, 1913-1916, when food shortage was not felt, but old ideas about diet were prevalent; in the period 1916-1922 the make-shifts which had to be made on account of the war, brought out certain effects of the various factors of a diet; during the third period of 1922-1927 these defects in food were gradually being remedied and the health and physique had markedly improved. The period of 1927 to 1933 is the period where the diet was perfectly balanced and adequate. The adequacy of the diets of each period was reflected in the changes in mean weight and height. The investigation shows in addition that the maximum rate of increase in height occurs during the spring, while that for weight occurs in the autumn. The rate of growth, as measured by height, has a tendency to slow down early in the 16th year, but if the diet is satisfactory, such retardation begins only late in the 17th year.

Friend considers that a mean diet intake of 3200 calories represent a reasonable level for boys with a mean age of 14, provided that waste is adequately controlled. He also notes the striking fact that the health of the boys was actually better during the period of restricted food supplies.

Experimental studies on the effect of a diet are difficult of accomplishment in a school population for a variety of reasons. There are administrative obstacles and mental reactions of the boys which are difficult to surmount. That is why probably such an attempt had not so far

been made in India. We have recently been carrying out certain experiments at the David Sassoon Industrial School, where boys with ages ranging between 10 and 18 have been selected for the purpose. A balanced diet costing about Rs. 6/- per month has been evolved and is being compared in all its aspects and effects with the standard dietary of the school. A diet that could be considered ideal and costing Rs. 10/- per month is also being investigated by a committee of experts representing the Bombay Presidency Baby and Health Week Association and the Physiological Department of the Seth Gordhandas Sunderdas Medical College, Bombay. As these experiments must extend over a period of years, any definite conclusions at this stage would be premature. The diets contain the common raw food-stuffs obtained locally and such other products as skim-milk, ground-nut cakes (after extraction of oil), bran from rice, etc. Adjustments have had to be made from time to time. All that can be said at this stage is that English and European standards cannot be applied to India. Their calorie intake is much too high and is suited for countries which record a lower temperature for a greater part of the year. It may be safely stated, however, that milk ration has a marked effect on the physique and health of the boys concerned.

The subject of diet has been deplorably neglected in our country—a neglect which we are just beginning to appreciate. The medical profession knows very little about it, or of the value of physical measurements. Propaganda is essential so that parents and those responsible for the health of the child may make strenuous efforts for raising the general level of health in India.

The food problem has been engaging the attention of scientists in India for the last twenty years. The problem is just passing into practical politics and it is now realised that in the interest of public health the consumption of protective foods should be increased as a remedy for malnutrition and the control of diseases and epidemics. The research workers in human nutrition are trying to

discover and demonstrate the chief defects of Indian dietaries. Attempts are now being made to study the actual diets consumed by several groups of people in towns and villages. The incidence of food deficiency, diseases, and the various physical conditions accompanying malnutrition are also being investigated.

The dietary standards for India have yet to be worked out. The standards put forward by American and European physiologists, though commendable guides, represent far too high a standard of body requirements. The standards represent the optimum, and allow a high margin of safety. Even if the minimum standards were adopted, the diets in typical Indian village families would be far too deficient.

A differentiation ought to be made between "enough food" and the "right sort of food." The body requires a certain amount of calorie-intake which may through mistaken ideas be made up in any way and give the person that satiety of hunger which makes him feel happy for the time being. The idea of "enough food" soon degenerates into one of "easy enough to obtain". The right sort of food requires discrimination, forethought, capacity to purchase and the availability of the food products.

Large sections of rural populations have not enough to eat. The consumption unit adopted in America and Europe is 3000 calories. In India even though the minimum daily requirements are put down to about 2500, the diet of the peasant or of the labourer usually falls below this figure. The energy output is proportionate to the energy intake and a vicious circle is produced: the output of work is becoming continually less; there is less earning capacity and therefore there are less means available to satisfy the needs of the body.

Indian dietaries show serious deficiencies of quality. There is a relative lack of animal products such as milk, eggs, meat, fish and also of pulses, vegetables and fruits. The diet is largely cereal. Experiments have shown that the addition of small quantities of skimmed milk to the

diet of a group of Indian children living on largely cereal diet, containing no milk or eggs, produces a rapid acceleration of growth and an improvement in general health and vitality. Pulses, though rich in vegetable protein, have not the same nutritive value as milk or eggs. The most serious fault of the average Indian diet is the relative lack of proteins of high biological value, Vitamin B₂ and assimilable calcium. Vegetables and fruits are being consumed in very small quantities.

The medical examination of groups of school children also illustrates the inadequacy and ill balanced nature of the diet. Deficiency diseases are revealed in a large percentage of those examined. The common one is stomatitis due to Vitamin B₂ deficiency.

The diet problem in India as yet over the world is an extremely complicated one, making the task of the reformer and the public health worker extremely difficult.

CHAPTER IX

TRAINING FOR CHARACTER

By

P. G. BHAGWAT, M. A., PH. D.
(*Union Training College, Ahmednagar.*)

There are still many parents in India who consider their only duty to their children to be that of feeding and clothing them—and perhaps sending them irregularly to school. If they can provide their youngsters with bhaji bhakri, dhotis and saris, and an occasional schoolbook, they feel they have fulfilled their parental obligations. Little do they realize the importance of that which is even more fundamental, viz., the necessity of teaching children the art of living well. The needs of character should be recognized as well as the demands of the body. Physical and mental education without a definite moral purpose will not prepare the child to cope with life. Every parent who loves the child, needs to know that his responsibility towards the child is not fulfilled, unless he endeavours to inculcate in the child right attitudes towards life and helps him to form habits which will enable him to meet all situations with courage and thoughtfulness. Character is an inheritance which can never be lost ; it is unlike material heritage which does not always remain with the person to whom it is left.

To begin with, we must rid our minds of the idea that character is formed while the child is being given moral lessons in the home or in school. Character does not wait for such lessons. It is being formed all the time, during the waking hours of the child ; everywhere—in the home, at school, on the streets, on the playground. Whatever the child hears or sees is continually making an impression on his mind. If we could only realise that our set lessons on morality play a very small part in the child's life and

that his real teachers are the various experiences which he has from day to day, we should be far more careful about the environment in which we allow our children to grow.

In school life and during play hours the child comes into contact with other children. He meets older boys, girls and adults as well as children of his own age. All that is said in school, the opinions that friends have about different things, help to form his own way of thinking. At home also, the environment in which he lives is his teacher. A child quickly gets ideas of reverence, disgust, love and hatred about things or people from his parents or those about him. It may be just a word or a look or a chance expression in the natural every-day life of the parents. The child immediately absorbs it and makes it his own. Suggestion plays a great part in the life of children. Hence parents must keep their own characters above reproach at all times.

Children need the atmosphere of love and freedom in the home. A boy or girl cannot grow into perfect manhood or womanhood unless he or she experiences perfect love in the home. It must also be recognised that the child's life is different from that of adults. He cannot remain quiet for a long time; he indulges in pursuits which would not interest an adult. Wherever possible a special room should be set apart in the home which the child can call his own. There he may put playthings or books or entertain friends. Parents should encourage their sons and daughters to bring home friends and help to make them feel at home. This will reveal to them the kind of company their children keep. It will also enable them to observe their children more often. At no time, however, should any child be made to feel that he is more important than the other children, simply because the children are in his home or are using his playthings.

Parents and children should be friends with one another. The child must feel perfectly free in the presence of his father and mother. A parent's dignity should not be hurt if the child jokes or plays with him or her. In

fact such behaviour is the expression of true companionship. This is opposed to the traditional view in India that children must behave with humility and respect towards their elders. For a parent to become a child and jump and play and fight with the child, according to this view would be unthinkable. But such false dignity only deprives the child of the confidence and happiness that he might derive from the parent. The child ought to have no friend better than his father or mother.

I know an American father who had the greatest fun with his twelve year old son when he took him for the first time on his usual summer fishing trip. An American mother spends a great deal of her time with her thirteen year old son, helping him collect specimens of rocks, in which he is intensely interested. Together they have also played the game of studying famous paintings in the National Art Gallery, close to their home. Through such friendship the parents not only help their children, but also come to know them better than they otherwise would.

What place does punishment hold in the training of the young? Some people believe that punishment is necessary and good at all times, others condemn it altogether. In India our general practice is based on the former view. It would be best if we dropped corporal punishment altogether, except in a mild form when it is administered as instruction and not as punishment. When a child strikes another, the best way to teach him how it hurts is to strike him in turn in the same way. But he should not be made to feel guilty. This, of course, applies to the first experiences of the child. The punishment in this case is inflicted to give the experience of how the other child felt when he was struck. A misbehaving child should be treated as if he were ill and his difficulty studied. The cause of his trouble may be insufficient rest. The remedy is not to get angry with him but to put him to bed. Much of the beating of children is due to irritation on the part of the parents—irritation for which they themselves are to blame. It is no use for a doctor to

become exasperated with his patient because the patient is ill. Dr. Montessori describes below how she has tried to deal with her problems of discipline :

"As to punishments, we have many times come in contact with children who disturbed the others without paying attention to our corrections. Such children were at once examined by the physician. When the case proved to be that of a normal child we placed one of the little tables in a corner of the room, and in this way isolated the child ; having him sit in a comfortable little armed chair, so placed that he might see his companions at work, and giving him those games and toys to which he was most attracted. This isolation almost always succeeded in calming the child ; from his position he could see the entire assembly of his companions, and the way in which they carried on their work was an object lesson much more efficacious than any words of the teacher could possibly have been. Little by little, he would come to see the advantages of being one of the company working so busily before his eyes and he would really wish to go back and do as the others did. We have in this way led back again to discipline all the children who at first seemed to rebel against it. The isolated child was always made the object of special care, almost as if he were ill. I myself, when I entered the room, went first of all directly to him, as if he were a very little child. Then I turned my attention to the others, interesting myself in their work, asking questions about it as if they had been little men. I do not know what happened in the soul of these children whom we found it necessary to discipline, but certainly the conversion was always very complete and lasting."¹

Physical punishment makes a sensitive child bitter against life. It makes children brutal and creates in them a belief that it is right to punish others to keep up one's authority. It fills the child's mind with fear rather than love and there cannot be that free and spontaneous friend-

¹ *The Montessori Method*, p. 103, Heinemann.

ship with the parents that there would be without it. Even words spoken sharply or reprovingly are punishments and must be very sparingly used.

Formation of character is the formation of dispositions to act in a certain way—the dispositions which are universally recognised as good. These dispositions are habitual ways of responding to similar situations, i.e., they are formed through habitual actions, not by abstract moral instruction. This is opposed to the popular idea that we are forming the child's character when we are giving him moral or religious instruction in the abstract. Knowing what is good, we fondly believe, will result in good acts. It is a folly and a waste of time to give such abstract moral instruction to the child. The child learns only through concrete situations—through having actually to meet a particular situation in his experience. In hammering principles and rules into the brain of the child, we simply create an abstract world for him, in which those rules operate. They do not apply to the life which he actually lives with other children and adults.

The ingredients of character are truthfulness, self-reliance, self-restraint, courage, sensitiveness and intelligence. The habit of *truthfulness* is one of the major aims of moral education. The child learns to tell a lie through fear. It does not naturally occur to him to be untruthful. But when he sees others telling lies and when doing the same will save him from punishment, he will tell a lie. The parent must remove fear from the child and explain to him that lying is bad.

Parents must themselves be truthful to the children. A very common practice of lying on the part of parents, is that of threatening the child with some punishment which is never inflicted afterwards. If you threaten to do a certain thing, carry it out or don't threaten at all. If you don't carry out the threat the child will never believe in all you say. One must not use a threat with the hope that one may not have to use it.

A child brought up without fear asks a lot of questions, some of which are embarrassing to the parents. All these

questions must be answered truthfully by the parents. Every question should be answered in the language that the child understands. He should not be told that he will understand when he is older—except in the case of difficult scientific questions. The fact that there are really some questions that he cannot understand will make the child look forward to learning more in the future.

Education in truthfulness must prepare the child to seek the truth in life and accept it, whatever the cost. That is, the scientific attitude must be cultivated. The mind must always be open to receive evidence one way or the other and if the evidence leads to one conclusion, that conclusion must be accepted until it is changed by further evidence. That is the only way in which we can really grow; not by closing our minds to all knowledge that may be contrary to our accepted beliefs. In order to develop the habit of open-mindedness to truth, a reason must be given for all instructions, where the reason is not already understood. The child should not be taught to accept anything on authority. Of course while he is small he will implicitly trust in the parent if the parent has gained his confidence. One father, for example, told his three year old son that if he ate at one time all the sweets given to him he would get sick. The boy ate all of them. The sickness taught him that his father was right. It was a triumphant discovery for him. As the child grows older he should be encouraged to form opinions and beliefs that are in keeping with what he knows and thinks to be true.

Self-reliance is another virtue that needs to be taught. It is sometimes assumed that when a child becomes old enough to earn his living he is self-reliant. But self-reliance will depend on how much education and opportunity the child has had to develop that characteristic. Quite often one sees a youngster who has been babied all through his childhood by his mother, with the result that he is having a more difficult time in adjusting himself to life. He does not know what he can really do independently. He has a wrong idea of the world. Having

never been allowed to decide for himself, he is at a loss to know what to do.

A fond mother often wants to do everything for the child. She will feed the baby with her own hands long after the necessity to do it has passed. So also with dressing. If the child is hurt, she will make a lot of fuss over him. In all this she does not realise that she is laying the wrong kind of a foundation for the child's future. Dr. Montessori teaches her children to do a lot of things for themselves that mothers do for them at home. The children learn to eat with their own hands, put on their own clothes, keep their things in order. Children love to do these things. An intelligent parent will encourage all kinds of independence in the child.

The freedom given to the child must be real. The parent should advise, but should not impose his or her will, unless some very serious consequences are likely to follow upon the mistake. The child must be allowed to make minor mistakes, and learn from them.

An English father tells of how he learnt self-reliance by the freedom which he enjoyed while he was a child.

"That childhood," he says, "highly unconventional from any educational point of view, taught me to do things effectively at the age of ten, which very few accomplish at all at twenty. By the time I was eleven, I had made extensive bicycling tours through England, entirely alone..... Though I made friends with anybody, nothing untoward ever happened. My worst experience was when I spent my last penny on a pair of passionately desired brown shoes and had to ride fifty miles with only a boiled egg for nourishment..... At fourteen, I was given a hundred pounds and a return ticket to Norway... On my return from Norway, I was sent to a finishing school, where I was considered incapable of crossing a road unchaperoned. To the three years spent there, I owe the best part of my subsequent mistakes and weaknesses."¹

¹ *Reader's Digest*, February, 1937.

This author believes that children should “fend for themselves as soon as they can stand and co-ordinate their movements, take responsibility, accept the consequences of ill-judged and anti-social actions, and face themselves and their world squarely, quickly and without illusions.”

Such education teaches the child to take care of himself and to get on in the world. It shows him what the world is really like, and also reveals to him his own real capacities and powers. If he finds, as a result of his experiences, that he is not brilliant, he need not waste his time in doing things for which he is not fitted. He can learn to do best what he is fitted for and thus save many precious years of his life.

There are two kinds of experiences in life where the need of *self-control* is most urgent; one in regard to temper, another in regard to temptation. Temperaments differ a great deal as regards temper—some being more subject to anger than others. Yet the evil effects of anger are so great that early training in self-control is absolutely necessary.

Children seem to give vent to their anger for various reasons. Their anger is either in the form of a complaint or an expression of selfishness. What is a mere complaint in early childhood takes later on the form of fighting in vindication of self-respect. At all times an effort should be made to find the root cause of the trouble. The child should not be blamed every time he cries. More often than not it is the physical condition of the child that is the cause of the disturbance and for this the parent is responsible. If the child has not had enough sleep or is not feeling well, it is perfectly natural for him to be irritable. The remedy is to minister to his physical needs. Sometimes the child is plainly obstinate and troublesome. He is used to having a lot of attention and fuss made over him, which he seeks to get through crying. At such times firmness in handling the child will bring him round. One father took his misbehaving 3 year old son to a room and told him to come out and join the family only when he

had made up his mind to behave himself. After some crying the child came out and the parents did not have much trouble with him afterwards. When the child knows that he cannot make any impression on the parents by the mere trick of crying, unless there is a real physical need at the root of the trouble, he will behave himself. The control of one's temper must be learnt in the early days.

The cases of anger which arise from selfishness also need to be handled with care. One often sees a child appropriating all toys to himself and crying when some of them are used by others. He expects everyone to attend to his whims and cries if thwarted in the least. He is a spoilt child and needs to be treated with firmness as well as thoughtfulness. Unguided, he will have to learn his lessons at a very great cost from life. In actual life as he grows older he learns that if one is selfish and loses one's temper with other boys, that attitude will be returned by anger. "An eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth," is the way of the world. Indeed rather, if he gives one black eye to another, the other fellow will give him two; if he knocks down one tooth, he may lose several in return. The world is a hard teacher and as far as possible such outbursts of temper should be corrected at home.

The need for self-control in times of temptation is also very often urgent. Self-control is needed because the temptation-situation is unexpected and pre-formed habits of thought and action, of which character is made, are not able to meet this particular emergency. It is dangerous and unfortunate to be led into temptation, for which no preparation by way of education in self-control has already been made. Hence the prayer of the human heart: "Lead us not into temptation." When, however, a proper adjustment to the temptation is made and becomes a habit, the original fear in regard to that temptation disappears. If it is possible to live where a particular type of temptation is not likely to befall a person, it will not be necessary to make the adjustment to it. In that case

that particular situation, however, will always remain a source of danger of temptation to that person, though the actual experience may not come to him. But if the person is likely to meet with situations of the kind in question, it is quite necessary to develop strength of character in that person to help him to meet the temptation without falling a victim to it. Opportunity must be found to make a proper adjustment to the situation, and help given in the early stages of the adjustment.

Self-control withholds action until the thought of the consequences has an opportunity to influence decision on the right side. One right decision makes the next one easier and thus character is strengthened, as far as those kinds of situations are concerned. A child who is tempted to smoke, by the example of others, can be more effectively helped in the early stages than in later ones.

Many of the temptations of children come from unnecessary DONT'S; also from lack of the satisfaction of their legitimate wants. A child does not like restrictions, the reasonableness of which he cannot see. And when opportunity comes he will yield to the temptation of going contrary to the parents' wish. Forcing a child to get accustomed to what his inner voice tells him to be bad is demoralizing to the child.

Before we condemn a child for doing a wrong thing we must recognize that he has a right to the legitimate satisfaction of his instincts. A father cannot give his little son a new axe and prohibit him from using it in any way. Finding nothing good to use it on, he may, in the course of his play come to use it on the father's favourite tree. In the matter of food and playthings, e.g., a child who is above want is not as likely to steal those things as a child who cannot ordinarily get such things. Sympathy, thoughtfulness and early action will save a child from much future trouble.

One of the great handicaps in life for the child is the innumerable *fears* from which he suffers. Very few of these are instinctive fears; most of them are acquired through association with parents and elders.

Parents do not realize that the early experiences of childhood leave their permanent impress upon the mind of the child. The temporary problem of discipline is no doubt solved by frightening the child, but the fears caused by such frightenings stay with him all his life. Stories told without intention of scaring children : stories of ghosts, of cruelty and death, often cause nightmares to the child. Children associate these happenings with the dark, especially when they are alone and suffer agonies over them. These are imaginary fears. There are also real fears, such as the fear of snakes, which children learn from their parents.

The fears of a sudden noise, of objects moving in a surprising way and of mysterious happenings seem to be instinctive fears. The fear of the dark is acquired either by suggestion or through definite teaching. Some of the other fears are those of ghosts and witches, curses of fakirs, enchantments, owls and strangers.

The first requisite for bringing up a child without fear is for the parents not to show fear before their children. Neither should they put fear into them by stories or threatenings. It is easy to put fear into a child's heart ; it is very difficult to remove it. The fear of the mysterious must be removed by explanations. Simple explanations of thunder-storms and lightning, eclipses and the falling star will help remove these fears. One 3 year child was afraid of the shadows on the wall. It was explained to him that these shadows were made by objects against the light, and shadows were thrown on the wall by hand, while the child was encouraged to do the same. The child soon lost his fear of shadows. Even if the child cannot understand the explanations at the time, the knowledge or assurance that the phenomenon has an explanation, will help to take the fear away from him.

Imaginary fears can be expelled by teaching and by showing that their sources do not exist, e.g., showing by lights that there is nothing in the dark, or approaching an object of which the child is afraid and by touch and other means of familiarity convincing him that the object

is harmless. The way to deal with legitimate fears, like that of snakes, is by teaching children how to take care of themselves in such situations.

The teaching of skills to meet with dangerous physical situations is the best way to teach courage. The opponent with whom the child must cope is not a person, but nature. Situations as in difficult climbings, severe storms or rain, should be used. Real courage is not that of the blind person who goes against odds, not understanding the consequences, but of one who knowingly and intelligently meets that situation. When a person knows exactly what to do under certain circumstances, as e.g., in plying a sail boat on a stormy lake, he will not be afraid to meet that situation.

It is also necessary to arouse the self-respect of the child. The child will respond to his sense of self-importance if told, for instance, that brave children do not cry for such simple hurts. It is bad to punish the child against which the child stumbles and falls, for it gives him the idea that it was not his mistake but that of the chair. He must learn to be careful in walking or suffer the consequences. As regards his own sufferings, an impersonal outlook on the world should also be created in the child.

Sensitiveness is also a necessary quality which should be developed in the child ; not the sensitiveness that takes offence at little insults, real or imaginary, but the quality of being responsive to situations—the quality of being affected either pleasurably or adversely by given situations. It is easy to feel sympathy for those whose conditions are graphically described to us. It is hard to feel the same sympathy merely by the study of statistics which may involve human suffering. The sense of justice which remains strong in the human breast, unless obscured by selfishness or dogmatism, should be developed. The child is naturally selfish when small. He should be taught to recognize the rights of others even though it is most disagreeable for him to do so.

We must also include *intelligence* as an essential quality of character. Virtue is not fixed once for all. It is

not a matter of simple transmission from parent to child. The situations which we meet with in life are ever changing and newer and better ways of dealing with them must be found. The old must be adapted to the new and for that the training of an open mind and courage to accept unpalatable conclusions must be developed. Independent thinking and opinions among the children in the family should always be encouraged.

The instinctive foundation of intelligence is curiosity. Curiosity among children is far stronger than among adults. Children welcome and rejoice in new things. Adults usually are not so much interested in new things ; sometimes they positively dislike them. The curiosity of the child should always be satisfied, as we have said before, in the language that he can understand, no matter what the question is. The child should never be told that he is too small to understand a thing ; neither should he ever be told lies.

Curiosity should be inspired by genuine love of knowledge, not by the desire to find the faults or secret sins of others. It is of a higher type if dissociated from personal advantage. Habits of observation, belief in the possibility of knowledge, patience, industry and open-mindedness are some of the qualities that help the development of curiosity.

Education for character is not complete without sex education. Unfortunately, sex is taboo with most people. The majority of people seem to believe that knowledge about sex is not necessary before marriage ; that what knowledge is required comes somehow to young people when they get married. Thus we distinguish between this knowledge and other kinds of knowledge. While we prepare our children to meet with all other situations in life, we do nothing to guide the most powerful instinct in human nature. The hush-hush policy observed by such people does not solve the question. It merely drives the curiosity of the young underground. They seek to know from their companions what they have a right to know from their parents. The result is that they look upon sex

as something filthy, indecent and comic, instead of a natural and beautiful relationship between man and woman. Such a wrong attitude towards sex will always poison the child's mind regarding the relationship of man and woman. There cannot be genuine respect for fatherhood and motherhood until parents and teachers correct their own ideas about sex.

Sex knowledge should be imparted in the most natural way, without the feeling that it is the most delicate or dangerous subject that we are tackling. Children and young people have a peculiarly keen sense of proprieties and we should not suggest to them that sex is something that belongs to a different order of things. A wrong attitude toward sex is the result of such teaching.

The first thing to be taught in sex knowledge is sex hygiene, along with the knowledge of human physiology. Because of the great movement toward the cities, where even the innocent may be infected with venereal diseases, the young people should be taught about these diseases. This should be done without the undue exaggeration which usually accompanies this information. They should know how venereal diseases can be avoided and how they can be cured.

The story of how babies are born should be taught before the child reaches the age of puberty. Children are in a better state of mind to receive this knowledge before than after puberty. They should also be prepared beforehand to understand the physical changes that come upon them in puberty. Knowledge of the creation of sex is best explained by the story of creation among flowers, birds and animals. Some children will show curiosity about sex much later than others. As far as possible all information should grow directly out of their curiosity. The treatment of the subject with natural frankness, without embarrassment, will save the child from many unhappy re-adjustments afterwards.

CHAPTER X

RECREATION AND PLAY

BY

BEHRAM H. MEHTA, M. A., PH. D.

*(Reader in Sociology, The Sir Dorabji Tata
Graduate School of Social Work, Bombay.)*

In India, play is generally considered to be the affair of the child, and he is left alone with his playmates to find ways to amuse himself. Yet India possesses one of the richest game-lore in the world, mostly created in the village by the simple genius of the child without the guidance and help of his elders. The games of the villages gradually filter through to the towns, where they are played along with games from other provinces and localities, finally evolving into our national game-lore. The opportunity to play is greater in the village than in the town because of the pleasant rural surroundings, the beauty and strength of Nature, the vastness of space, absence of strict control and interference of parents, and the absence of a rigid educational system which confines a child to the classroom for a number of hours. Thus the village remains the cradle of Indian games. Though a large variety of games from different sources accumulate in the industrial city, and though such cities have the advantage of assimilating games from foreign countries, the opportunities to play are limited, the environment of the slums is gloomy and cramped, there is inadequate space, the control of parents is rigid and severe, and the worry of school lessons weighs heavy on the mind of the child who has to spend more than six hours a day at his desk.

Because of the apathy of parents and the neglect of play by the school, municipal and State authorities, the need arises for an intelligent, clear and definite understanding of, and attitude towards, this most important

function of child life. Play and pretence are the main work-activities of childhood. In play children "exercise their will to power and enjoy the pretence of terror." Play emphasises the many desires, impulses and ambitions of the child, and as such it is the most natural external expression of his innate character and will. The child has no ulterior object in play, it is merely the fundamental source of his immediate happiness. Play is joy obtained in the very process of doing. Children may sometimes rehearse in play the future activities of life, they may personate adult life, or with their fancy and imagination they may give expression to their dreams; but normally children merely play for the sake of playing. Many school-masters believe that play is only relaxation for children, or that in play children merely spend their superfluous energy. It is very difficult to convince them that for children, "play is the cry of developing muscles and nerves for function," and it is one of the most important agents of physical growth, which is more vital and important in childhood than mental development—which follows naturally, if there is proper physical development in the early years.

The educational value of play in relation to recreation needs to be determined. Parents believe that when the child is away from school or studies, or when he is not under the direct supervision or control of a parent or teacher, he has his opportunity for recreation. This is quite untrue. In case of children there can be no distinction between work, play or recreation. These processes must be so interwoven that for the child everything is pleasure, affording interest, enthusiasm and activity. Where lessons are considered as work, and recreation as rest, the erroneous and quite harmful conclusion is reached that lessons only form a part of education, and recreation is outside the scope of education. Education both for play and recreation is vital for the healthy development and training of the child. Modern education seeks to achieve the education of "the whole man," and it is therefore essential to reach a proper co-relation between play, re-

creation and learning. Very great harm is done to a child when he finds that his academic interests are at cross-purposes with his game interests. Lessons and play alike serve as recreation when they provide pleasure to the child, release his creative impulses, provide him with new interests, stir his emotions, satisfy his curiosities and lead him on to some sort of activity. When education and recreation are complementary, then both become far more enjoyable and effective, intelligence is vitalised, character is ennobled and real values are created. One of the outstanding achievements of organised recreation as part of education is the transformation of whole masses of people into healthy, socialised communities. The discovery of the educational value of play, which has unfortunately so far not affected India, is one of the outstanding achievements of modern education. It is now realised that every individual must "pass through a discipline of excellent play to become an excellent citizen."

Healthy play should be characterised by certain essential qualities. The essence of any pleasurable activity is freedom of choice. *The first initiative for play* must rest with the child. *Secondly*, play should stimulate activity, since physical activities are indispensable for the growing child. Physical activities not only help physical growth, but they also stimulate thought as acts or works. Play as physical activity should stimulate all the "drives" which need to be expressed or subjugated. Vocalisation, locomotion, manipulation, exploration, self-assertion, self-control—all these are invariably found expressed in games of children. *Thirdly*, play must be interesting. Anything which does not appeal to a child cannot become part of his life. The interest may be natural and spontaneous or it may be stimulated artificially by an efficient leader, but it must be sufficiently sustained to last during the whole of play-time. *Fourthly*, play should be educative. It should be purposefully and yet imperceptibly and tactfully directed to the cultivation of character and the development of personality. Sense training, self-expression, initiative, resourcefulness, capacity to judge

and control circumstances, unselfishness, co-operation, self-discipline—all these are more easily acquired on the playground than in the class-room. *Fifthly*, play should help to express and control emotions. Desire, fear, anger, sorrow, sympathy, elation are all easily expressed and controlled during play time ; the limitations of love, hate and jealousy are quickly realised. In play the child comes across situations which involve risk, rivalry and co-operation, and demand from him self-sacrifice and loyalty which prove of immense value in later years. *Sixthly*, play develops sportsmanship, a vital element of human character. Sharman defines sportsmanship as “being gentle in strength, being courageous in weakness, keeping the rules, playing the game, being on the level with adversaries and being on the level with yourself”, a definition excellently expressing the qualities of sportsmanship—courtesy, respect, truthfulness, honesty and fairness. *Lastly*, play gives a good deal of training for future life. In play children deal with playmates, opponents, leaders, judges, and spectators, and cultivate resourcefulness in solving problems and deciding upon deliberate action.

The physical and recreational education of a child may be roughly divided into four major divisions : (i) Play and development during early years ; (ii) Physical culture ; (iii) Playground culture ; (iv) Cultural recreations.

It is now generally recognised that infancy is the most important period for the education of the child. During this period the child grows, and his main functions are taking nourishment, sleeping and playing. Hence during the first five years play should receive great care and attention from parents. During this period the child plays alone. Most of his time is employed in playing with toys or articles which come to his notice and engage his curiosity. The small child invariably prefers to be alone, and there should be as little interference from adults with his play activities as possible. Parents have merely to give a general direction to play, provide the right kind of toys and allow the child a free use of sand, clay, pieces

of wood or any other article that will not cause physical injury. During this period the senses are trained to function, the child accumulates experience, and develops likes and dislikes. Toys should help this primary development—they should not be fantastic, noisy or ugly, and they should be strong, durable and of a size suitable to the age of the child.

When the child grows, he becomes more active in his games. During play he learns to control his muscles, to imitate what goes on around him, and to speak clearly and walk. He now prefers toys which roll, move and work, and even his creative talents can now be engaged with blocks, clay, plastiscine, sand, crayon, wire, paper, etc. The first experiences of play are simple, but gradually they become complex. The desire for company begins at about three and leads to play in small groups—playing games which involve running, tapping, chasing, etc.

The stage when physical culture may prove of some use is reached when the child is about eight years old. A detailed discussion of physical culture does not fall within the scope of this article; it is related to physical education proper, and it may take its place side by side with games. Advanced nations are taking more and more to free play, outdoor life, outdoor games and recreation; while gymnastics, drilling, and courses of exercises to develop muscles and strengthen bones and joints are falling more and more into disuse. It is generally found that children are less interested in physical culture than in games, and whenever it appeals to young persons, it is more or less a personal and special, rather than general interest. In many cases it is found that physical culture is not co-related to the training and development of the mind and the emotions, and therefore an unhealthy and one-sided development follows. The rigidity of physical culture is considerably reduced in Swedish Drills, and curricula which include more free exercises, rhythmic activities, and rhythmic and aesthetic dancing. But unless these are carried out under properly trained leadership, where the leader is an intelligent and human person,

with as little touch of the police constable as possible, physical culture is bound to be replaced by playground culture.

When play assumes an important role in the training and education of the child, playground culture takes its proper place as a science involving intricate problems of organisation, finance, curriculum, equipment and training of leadership. These problems need to be solved by patient research, study and experimentation. Play has important functions to perform in the realm of education and social culture. It does not stop with the completion of childhood; it has a prominent place in the leisure occupations of adult life. Since leisure alone provides the maximum opportunities for true creative achievements cementing the peace and progress of the world, play may be regarded as one of the foundations of world culture.

Programmes of play have always been influenced by social, economic and political considerations. Athens, Sparta and Rome played games according to their national interests and ambitions. The last Olympics at Berlin demonstrated the same application of national interests to national games. Germany, Russia, Italy, Japan and England are going ahead with new programmes of physical regeneration to suit the needs of their respective peoples. India, with her national consciousness awakened, is bound to take a new interest in the physical regeneration of the nation. She displayed at the last Olympics the splendour of her national games. Two main objects must be achieved to revive the interest of youth in physical regeneration. It is desirable that India should make her own original contribution to the game-lore of the world, instead of merely contenting herself to imitate the games of the West. Our national games must be revived; but this revival should not mean simply the excavation of forgotten games from the graves of the past. There is an urgent need for research—games played by different communities in different environments should be collected and studied, their relative capacity to arouse

interest and afford training and education should be measured, and steps should be taken to create efficient organisation to systematise play, form rules and secure uniformity. Measures should be taken to train leadership and organise widespread propaganda to create an interest in national games and national physical regeneration. The second great need is to democratise play. The world is gradually coming to accept the principle that all must work, it must therefore inevitably accept the principle that all must have adequate leisure. Leisure cannot be adequately utilised unless there is play.. Play should be open for all classes of people, for the rich and the poor alike. The above objects can only be realised with a well-organised National Playground Movement with branches spread over the whole country.

Three important factors of play are the playground, equipment and organisation. The playground movement was started in the West about the end of the last century. Sand piles were provided in Boston in 1885. The Copenhagen Playground Association and the Central Committee for the Promotion of Games in Germany under von Schnekendorff came into being simultaneously in 1891. Since then the Playground Movement has gone ahead in all the advanced nations of the world. Vienna city had 31 playgrounds in 1930. In 1934 America had about 13,000 play areas in 980 cities. She employed 25,000 recreational leaders and spent nearly forty million dollars a year.

Indian cities are sadly lacking in this most essential amenity for children. Whatever playgrounds are provided are ill-maintained and hardly equipped with the necessary apparatus. Playground leadership is almost completely absent. It will take some time for the Indian municipalities to realise that the playground for the body may eventually become the playground for the human soul where life may be ennobled and made happy. It is unlikely that better places will be found to solve our communal problems and resolve the severe and bitter conflicts of modern civilisation than the playgrounds of our cities.

It is vital that every school should have a playground. A large number of schools in Indian cities, attended by thousands of children are situated on public highways and streets. The unfortunate students of these schools rarely get the opportunity to play healthy games in the open air. In such cases the state and the municipalities should co-operate with the school authorities and help them to see that no child is denied the opportunity to play.

Children do not require very costly equipment for their play. But there are certain essentials which give a good deal of happiness to children. Sand piles, green lawns, wading pools, see-saws, climbing apparatus, etc., can easily be provided for playgrounds at a small initial cost. When team games involving equipment, like volley-ball, foot-ball, basket-ball, hockey and cricket, are played it is desirable that material of good quality be provided for play. Cheapness and insufficiency of articles prove costly in the end; they afford less pleasure, and do not contribute to efficiency.

Playgrounds cannot prove of much use if there are no organisations to run them. The child on the playground needs care, protection and guidance. Moreover a decent standard of play has to be maintained. The utility and efficiency of play can be immensely increased if there is proper leadership on the playfield. It is the function of playground organisations to bring to the notice of children the benefits of playground activities. Institutions managing playgrounds must not have elaborate constitutions and they must possess elasticity and speed. Over-organisation hampers the happy functioning of play and too many rules and too much advice are undesirable for children who should play in an atmosphere of freedom and pleasant comradeship in which there is ample opportunity for self-expression. It is very undesirable that 'experts' should dominate and rule the playfields of a nation.

Play activities of children are generally classified under two broad divisions. *The first division* includes playfields and natural activities such as (i) self-directed activities, achievements and stunts; (ii) dramatic activities where

there is impersonation of plays, stories and poems; (iii) rhythmic activities like singing games, rhythmic dancing, folk dancing, gymnastic dancing and aesthetic dancing; (iv) hunting play and games like chasing, tag, and 'it' games; (v) athletic activities; (vi) personal combative activities such as boxing and wrestling; (vii) water activities like wading, swimming, diving and boating. *The second division* includes related play activities which arise out of necessity or personal interest. To this belong movements for outdoor life, tramping, camping, hiking, etc., and activities involving industry, such as gardening. Formalised movements like marching, drill and corrective movements and gymnastics also belong to the same sphere.

The natural play activities of children vary at different ages. Creative impulses come into play in the first three years, when play is solitary. The age-period from three to six is generally the time for impersonation, fighting, nurture, rhythm, curiosity and gradual intrusion into the social sphere. Six to eleven is an important period, usually termed the "big injun", when there is a good deal of self-assertion, personal combativeness and desire for leadership. Eleven to fourteen is the period of gang-life, loyalty and hero worship. After that the apprentice age begins, when there is preparation for life in team games, co-operative endeavours, sportsmanship and well directed efforts to achieve predetermined goals.

Games which children play need to be properly graded so that they evolve with the growth of the child. Simple games like hide and seek, touch and catch and snatch the bone should precede games requiring mental activity and control. In individual games which are mostly imitative and dramatic, the child aspires to be constructive and assertive. The imitation of the rolling steam-engine thundering away in the play-room makes the child conscious of his immense powers. Running should be practiced before the age of ten; ball games should be encouraged, while good balance and flexibility should be

acquired through dancing. Relay races and team games should gradually develop in organisation and skill.

A modern nation's claim to civilisation may well be judged from its national games. Games which involve mere violence, or luck, or chance, or games with pernicious excitements and thrills do not contribute to the well-being and full development of the individual, and when such games are played extensively by a nation it runs the grave risk of losing the respect of the world. A nation which plays violent and stupid games cannot fulfil its creative mission. Team games, like other games should always remain closely associated with art and express beauty, harmony and strength in activity. Games should involve more actual participation than spectatorship. This end will be achieved only when credit is no longer given for brilliant success, but for the effort involved in play. There is also an unfortunate tendency in modern times to struggle for records, championships and expertness, to create star teams of experts and thus build up an aristocracy of the game. This is accompanied by commercialisation of play where gladiatorial combats between experts or specialists are made to yield gate-money. Play will not be thus ennobled. Team games should never be allowed to degenerate into becoming too expert, and ordinary skill should be merely aimed at. It is usually believed that team games involve co-operation and joint effort, but essentially team games are competitive, though this competitiveness is often allowed to pass off as 'healthy rivalry'. The aim, "do your best", should never be allowed to be superseded by the slogan "Win at all costs."

The essential elements of all play are that play activities should be directed on lines of skill, should be organised on a basis of extensive participation, and should develop co-operation and fellow feeling. As in all education, games involve knowledge, attitudes and habits. The knowledge should be exact; correct attitudes should be created through leadership; and correct habits should be formed through enthusiastic and interested participation.

Games, like lessons, must have their instruction periods, practice periods, relaxation periods and recess so that they become an integral part of the education of the person. In the end, games should remain works of art "motivated by a passion for service and excellence."

Recreational Culture is the culmination of Playground Culture. It consists of engaging in all the creative arts of life—all the skills, crafts and hobbies in the spirit of play. Recreational Culture depends upon the interests of the individual and provides the maximum opportunity for self-expression of the highest creative impulses of man. It contributes most to happiness when the person is not engaged in performing the ordinary routine functions of life. Education for Recreational Culture should begin in the very early years with pencil, brush, clay and song. Gradually the higher skills will develop in gardening, carpentry, fret-work, painting, sculpture and music. Hobbies developed early prove excellent companions in later years. Leaf-collecting, stone-collecting, stamp-collecting, cycling, tramping, swimming, furniture-making and handicrafts have genuine utility in that they aid man in his leisure, solitude and sorrow.

The educational ambitions of play can only be realised through proper leadership. Energy, affability, vision, intelligence, personality, sportsmanship and experience are some of the fundamental qualities essential for playground leadership. Leadership in play is usually natural and training should be imparted when aptitude is noticed. India as yet does not possess a University for Physical Education, but some permanent institution with a highly qualified faculty and under efficient management, capable of research, should immediately come into being to give direction to the physical destiny of the nation.

APPENDIX A

AIMS AND OBJECTS OF THE SOCIETY FOR THE PROTECTION OF CHILDREN IN WESTERN INDIA

1. To rescue children of all castes and creeds from the streets of Bombay.
2. To prevent begging or other improper use of poor children by adults.
3. To pass such children on to existing charitable institutions and to provide for those otherwise unprovided for.
4. With the support and assistance of the Police to prevent children so far as possible from appearing in the Police Court.
5. To prevent the public and private wrongs of children and the corruption of their morals.
6. To take action for the enforcement of the laws for the protection of children, and if necessary, to suggest new laws or amendments to the existing law.
7. To promote education.
8. To provide and maintain an organisation for these objects.
9. To do all other lawful things incidental or conducive to the attainment of the foregoing objects.

APPENDIX B

OFFICE BEARERS OF THE SOCIETY FOR THE PROTECTION OF CHILDREN IN WESTERN INDIA

1917—1936

1917

President—	<i>The Hon'ble Mr. G. Carmichael, C. I. E., I. C. S.</i>
Vice Presidents—	<i>Mr. J. B. Wardlaw Milne</i> <i>Mr. Narottam Morarji Goculdas</i>
Hon. Secretaries—	<i>Mr. Mahomedbhoy Currimbhoy</i> <i>Mr. N. V. Mandlik, B. A., LL. B.</i> <i>Mr. R. P. Masani, M. A.</i> <i>Mr. M. Leslie</i>
Hon. Treasurer—	<i>Mr. W. A. Haig-Brown</i>

1918

President—	<i>The Hon'ble Sir George Carmichael, K.C.S.I., I.C.S.</i>
Vice Presidents—	<i>Mr. J. S. Wardlaw Milne</i> <i>Mr. Narottam Morarji Goculdas</i>
Hon. Secretaries—	<i>Mr. Mahomedbhoy Currimbhoy</i> <i>Mr. N. V. Mandlik</i> <i>Mr. R. P. Masani</i> <i>Mr. E. N. Rieu</i>
Hon. Treasurer—	<i>Mr. W. A. Haig-Brown</i>

1919

President—	<i>The Hon'ble Sir George Carmichael, K. C. S. I., I. C. S.</i>
Vice Presidents —	<i>The Hon'ble Sir Norman Macleod, Kt.</i> <i>The Hon'ble Sir Ebrahim Rahimtoola, Kt., C.I.E.</i> <i>Sir Narayan G. Chandavarkar, Kt.</i> <i>Mr. Narottam Morarji Goculdas</i>
Hon. Secretaries —	<i>Mr. Mahomedbhoy Currimbhoy</i> <i>Mr. N. V. Mandlik</i> <i>Mr. R. P. Masani</i> <i>Khan Sahib H. S. Katrak</i>
Hon. Treasurer—	<i>Mr. J. Sheepshanks</i>

1920

President—	<i>The Hon'ble Sir George Carmichael, K.C.S.I., I.C.S.</i>
Vice-Presidents—	<i>The Hon'ble Sir Norman Macleod, Kt.</i> <i>The Hon'ble Sir Ebrahim Rahimtoola, Kt., C.I.E.</i> <i>Sir Narayan G. Chandavarkar, Kt.</i> <i>Mr. Narottam Morarji Goculdas</i>

Hon. Secretaries—	<i>Mr. Mahomedbhoy Currimbhoy</i> <i>Mr. N. V. Mandlik</i> <i>Mr. R. P. Masani</i> <i>Khan Sahib H. S. Katrak</i>
Hon. Treasurer—	<i>Mr. J. Sheepshanks</i>

1921

President—	<i>The Hon'ble Sir Norman Macleod, Kt.</i>
Vice-Presidents—	<i>The Hon'ble Sir Ebrahim Rahimtoola, Kt., C. I. E.</i> <i>The Hon'ble Sir Narayan G. Chandavarkar, Kt.</i> <i>Sir Temulji B. Nariman, Kt.</i>
Hon. Secretaries—	<i>Mr. R. P. Masani</i> <i>Khan Sahib H. S. Katrak</i> <i>Dr. Mrs. Dadabhoy</i>
Hon. Treasurer—	<i>Mr. J. Sheepshanks</i>

1922

President—	<i>The Hon'ble Sir Norman Macleod, Kt.</i>
Vice-Presidents—	<i>The Hon'ble Sir Ebrahim Rahimtoola, Kt., C. I. E.</i> <i>The Hon'ble Sir Narayan G. Chandavarkar, Kt.</i> <i>Sir Temulji B. Nariman, Kt.</i>
Hon. Secretaries—	<i>Mr. R. P. Masani</i> <i>Khan Sahib H. S. Katrak</i> <i>Dr. Mrs. Dadabhoy</i> <i>Dr. Mrs. D' Monte</i>
Hon. Treasurer—	<i>Mr. J. Sheepshanks</i>

1923

President—	<i>The Hon'ble Sir Norman Macleod, Kt.</i>
Vice-Presidents—	<i>The Hon'ble Sir Ebrahim Rahimtoola, Kt., C. I. E.</i> <i>Sir Temulji B. Nariman, Kt.</i>
Hon. Secretaries—	<i>Mr. R. P. Masani</i> <i>Khan Sahib H. S. Katrak</i> <i>Dr. Mrs. Dadabhoy</i> <i>Dr. Mrs. D' Monte</i>
Hon. Treasurer—	<i>E. M. Lane</i>

1924

President—	<i>The Hon'ble Sir Norman Macleod, Kt.</i>
Vice-Presidents—	<i>The Hon'ble Sir Ebrahim Rahimtoola, Kt., C. I. E.</i> <i>Sir Temulji B. Nariman, Kt.</i>
Hon. Secretaries—	<i>Mr. R. P. Masani</i> <i>Khan Sahib H. S. Katrak</i> <i>Dr. Mrs. D' Monte</i> <i>Mrs. Sunderabai Sirur</i>
Hon. Treasurer—	<i>Khan Sahib H. S. Katrak.</i>

1925

President —	<i>The Hon'ble Sir Norman Macleod, Kt.</i>
Vice-Presidents —	<i>The Hon'ble Sir Ebrahim Rahimtoola, Kt., C. I. E. Sir Temulji B. Nariman, Kt.</i>
Hon. Secretaries —	<i>Dr. Mrs. D' Monte Mrs. Sunderabai Sirur Dr. Kashibai Navrange Mr. R. P. Masani</i>
Hon. Treasurer —	<i>Khan Sahib H. S. Katrak</i>

1926

President —	<i>The Hon'ble Sir Norman Macleod, Kt.</i>
Vice-Presidents —	<i>The Hon'ble Sir Ebrahim Rahimtoola, Kt., C. I. E. Sir Temulji B. Nariman, Kt.</i>
Hon. Secretaries —	<i>Dr. Mrs. D' Monte Mrs. Sunderabai Sirur Dr. Kashibai Navrange Mr. R. P. Masani</i>
Hon. Treasurer —	<i>Khan Sahib H. S. Katrak</i>

1927

President —	<i>Sir Temulji B. Nariman, Kt.</i>
Vice-Presidents —	<i>Sir Ebrahim Rahimtoola, Kt., C. I. E. Mr. Byramjee Jeejeebhoy Sir Currimbhoy Ebrahim, Bart.</i>
Hon. Secretaries —	<i>Dr. Mrs. D' Monte Mr. R. P. Masani, M. A. Mr. Jehangir G. Mody, M. A. Mr. Kapilram H. Vakil, M. Sc.</i>
Hon. Treasurer —	<i>Khan Sahib H. S. Katrak</i>

1928

President —	<i>Sir Temulji B. Nariman, Kt.</i>
Vice-Presidents —	<i>Sir Byramjee Jeejeebhoy, Kt. Mr. Frank Oliveira, B. A., LL. B.</i>
Hon. Secretaries —	<i>Dr. Mrs. D' Monte Mr. R. P. Masani, M. A. Mr. J. G. Mody, M. A.</i>
Hon. Treasurer —	<i>Khan Bahadur H. S. Katrak.</i>

1929

President —	<i>Sir Temulji B. Nariman, Kt.</i>
Vice-Presidents —	<i>Sir Byramjee Jeejeebhoy, Kt. Mr. Frank Oliveira, B. A., LL. B. Lady Jehangir (Junior)</i>

APPENDIX B

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Hon. Secretaries—	<i>Dr. Mrs. D'Monte</i> <i>Mr. R. P. Masani, M. A.</i> <i>Dewan Bahadur A. K. Pai, B. A.</i>
Hon. Treasurer—	<i>Khan Bahadur H. S. Katrak</i>

1930

President—	<i>Sir Temulji B. Nariman, Kt.</i>
Vice-Presidents—	<i>Lady Jehangir (Junior)</i> <i>Sir Byramjee Jeejeebhoy, Kt.</i> <i>Mr. Frank Oliveira, B. A., LL. B.</i>
Hon. Secretaries—	<i>Dr. Mrs. D'Monte</i> <i>Mrs. R. P. Masani</i>
Hon. Treasurer—	<i>Khan Bahadur H. S. Katrak</i>

1931

President—	<i>Sir Temulji B. Nariman, Kt.</i>
Vice-Presidents—	<i>Lady Jehangir (Junior)</i> <i>Sir Byramjee Jeejeebhoy, Kt.</i> <i>Mr. Frank Oliveira, B. A., LL. B.</i>
Hon. Secretaries—	<i>Dr. Mrs. D'Monte</i> <i>Mrs. R. P. Masani</i> <i>Mrs. Manecklal Premchand</i>
Hon. Treasurer—	<i>Khan Bahadur H. S. Katrak</i>

1932

President—	<i>Sir Temulji B. Nariman, Kt.</i>
Vice-Presidents—	<i>Lady Jehangir (Junior)</i> <i>Sir Byramjee Jeejeebhoy, Kt.</i> <i>Mr. Frank Oliveira, B. A., LL. B.</i>
Hon. Secretaries—	<i>Dr. Mrs. D'Monte</i> <i>Mrs. R. P. Masani</i> <i>Mrs. Manecklal Premchand</i>
Hon. Treasurer—	<i>Khan Bahadur H. S. Katrak</i>

1933

President—	<i>Sir Temulji B. Nariman, Kt.</i>
Vice-Presidents—	<i>Lady Jehangir (Junior)</i> <i>Sir Byramjee Jeejeebhoy, Kt.</i> <i>Mr. Frank Oliveira, B. A., LL. B.</i>
Hon. Secretaries—	<i>Dr. Mrs. D'Monte</i> <i>Mrs. R. P. Masani</i> <i>Mrs. Manecklal Premchand</i>
Hon. Treasurer—	<i>Khan Bahadur H. S. Katrak, J. P.</i>

1934

President—	<i>Sir Temulji B. Nariman, Kt.</i>
Vice-Presidents—	<i>Lady Jehangir (Junior)</i> <i>Sir Byramjee Jeejeebhoy, Kt.</i> <i>Mr. Frank Oliveira, B. A., LL. B.</i>
Hon. Secretaries—	<i>Dr. Mrs. D' Monte</i> <i>Mrs. R. P. Masani</i> <i>Mrs. K. Kania</i>
Hon. Treasurer—	<i>Khan Bahadur H. S. Katrak, J. P.</i>

1935

President—	<i>Sir Temulji B. Nariman, Kt.</i>
Vice-Presidents—	<i>Lady Jehangir (Junior)</i> <i>Sir Byramjee Jeejeebhoy, Kt.</i> <i>Mr. Frank Oliveira, B. A., LL. B.</i>
Hon. Secretaries—	<i>Dr. Mrs. D' Monte</i> <i>Mrs. R. P. Masani</i> <i>Mrs. K. Kania</i> <i>Mrs. B. P. Seervai</i>

1936

President—	<i>Sir Temulji B. Nariman, Kt.</i>
Vice-Presidents—	<i>Lady Cowasji Jehangir</i> <i>Sir Byramjee Jeejeebhoy, Kt.</i> <i>Mr. Frank Oliveira, B. A., LL. B.</i>
Hon. Secretaries—	<i>Dr. Mrs. D' Monte</i> <i>Mrs. R. P. Masani</i> <i>Mrs. K. Kania</i> <i>Mrs. B. P. Seervai</i>
Hon. Treasurer—	<i>Khan Bahadur H. S. Katrak</i>

